

**CONSTRUCTED LANDSCAPES OF THE
ANCIENT GREEK MIND:**
Archai, Ethos and the Self

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Glossary

<i>Aer</i>	air
<i>Aether</i>	upper stratosphere
<i>Apeiron</i>	limitless, boundless
<i>Archai</i>	first principles (<i>archē</i> singular)
<i>Archon</i>	ruler
<i>Asty</i>	town centre
<i>bema</i>	orator's or speaker's platform
<i>cella</i>	inner chamber of temple
<i>chiton</i>	robe, garment
<i>chora</i>	rural area outside of town
<i>deme</i>	district
<i>demos</i>	citizenry
<i>dialectic</i>	reasoning (in Platonic usage)
<i>diathesis</i>	arrangement
<i>eidos</i>	idea <i>and</i> form (in Platonic usage)
<i>entelechy</i>	actualisation (in Socratic usage)
<i>eschara</i>	ever-burning flame in sacred hearth
<i>ethos</i>	character and habits of a person (ancient Greek usage)
<i>eudaimonia</i>	goodness (as an <i>ethos</i>)
<i>eurhythmia</i>	harmonious proportion
<i>gê</i>	earth
<i>hippeis</i>	horsemen; cavalry
<i>horoi</i>	stone boundary markers
<i>hudor</i>	water
<i>kline</i>	dining couch
<i>logos</i>	an account, a discourse, thought, a reason

<i>morai</i>	sacred olive trees in the sanctuary at the Academy
<i>oikonomia</i>	household economy or management
<i>paideia</i>	broad system of cultural education
<i>palaestra</i>	outdoor wrestling arena
<i>pan</i>	all
<i>paradeisos</i>	enclosed garden park
<i>peplos</i>	woollen garment worn by females
<i>peristyle</i>	colonnade surrounding a building
<i>phuta</i>	plants (<i>phuton</i> singular)
<i>polis</i>	city-state, central urban area (loosely translated)
<i>poiēma</i>	literally, that which is created or made
<i>propylaia</i>	monumental porch with gate
<i>pyr</i>	fire
<i>skena</i>	built scenery in the ancient Greek theatre
<i>stele</i>	upright commemorative stone slab (or column)
<i>stoa</i>	columned portico
<i>stoicheion</i>	element
<i>symmetria</i>	symmetry
<i>synoikia</i>	unification (of Athenian <i>demes</i> by Theseus)
<i>syntagmata</i>	a string of elements that together form a larger form
<i>taxis</i>	order
<i>temenos</i>	a piece of land marked off as sacred; area around a temple
<i>thematismo</i>	custom or nature of a thing that creates a bond
<i>theoi</i>	gods and goddesses; divinities
<i>topos</i>	a place
<i>trope</i>	a pun, a play on words

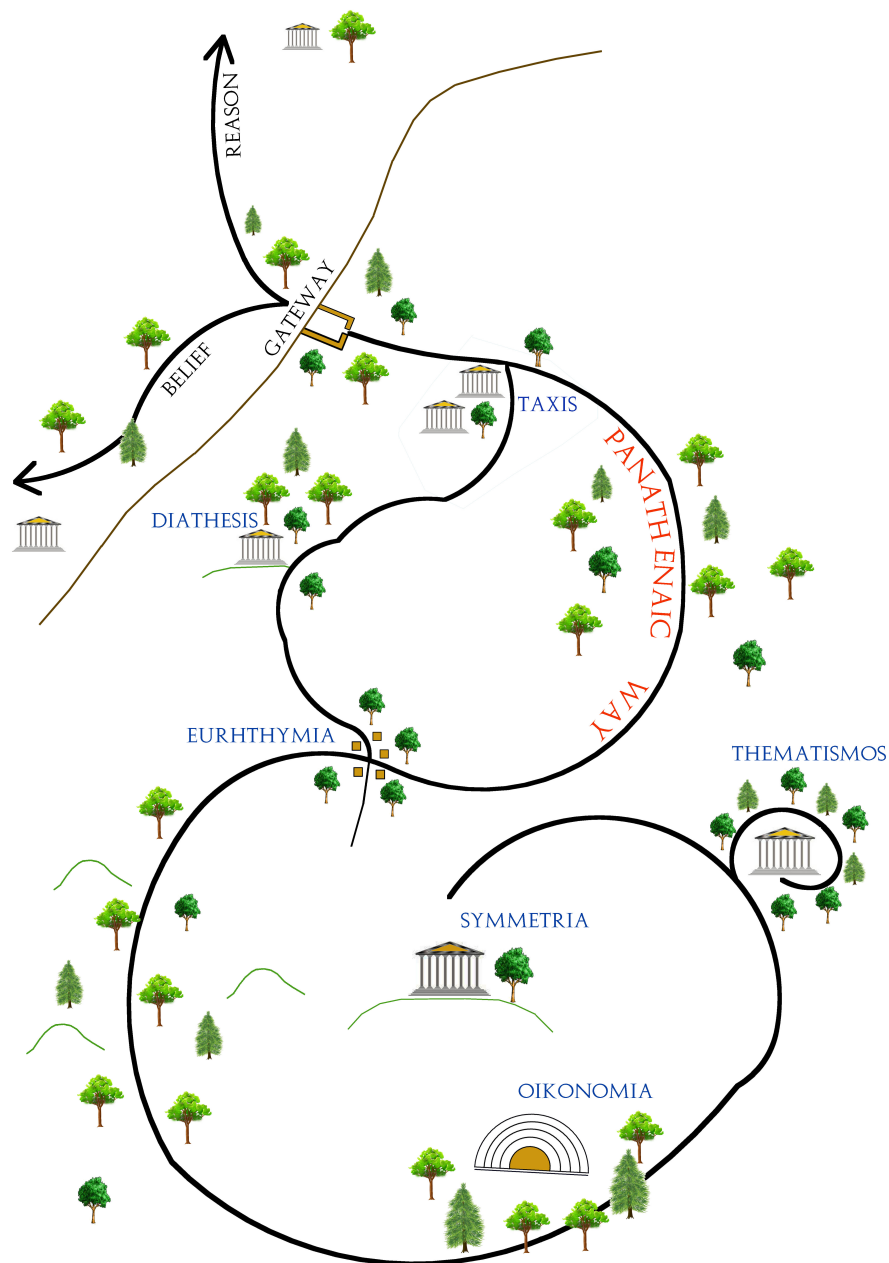
Abstract

This doctoral thesis explores six *archai* upon which the foundations of Western architectural theory were built, but, as I contend, have far more profound roots in the mythological and philosophical landscapes of the ancient Greeks of the 8th century BC onward and, more particularly, the Athenians of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Central to my thinking and to my mode of writing is the concept of tropes, hence 'built environment' becomes 'constructed landscape'. There is a subtle, yet significant difference between these two terms. The second term is a trope, a play on the words of the first. Whereas the term 'built environment' describes physical form, 'constructed landscape' describes not only physical form but can also be different in conceptual form. A dialogue or a poem, for instance, can be said to be a 'constructed landscape'. My interest lies not in the visual language of the built environment but in the language of conceptual and figurative landscapes. By troping Lynch's 'elements' and 'form', and Vitruvius' 'first principles' I explore the concept-construct of the Self and the *polis* in relation to them, and to the architectural, through seven Platonic-style Dialogues (set in 355 BC) that I have written. The research for the Dialogues draws upon ideas from the disciplines of landscape architecture, and architecture, and archaeology, in concert with Archaic and Classical Greek philosophy, poetry and plays, to explore the earliest Western expressions of *archai*. The primary aim of my research is to reveal through the constructed landscapes of the Athenians, and, more broadly, the Greeks of the late Archaic and Classical period, ancient Greek concepts of *archai*, not as an architectural term but as constructions of the ancient Greek mind, through the tropes of 'elements' and 'form' that have been articulated in Greek myth, poetry and philosophy. The importance of this research is twofold: first, in bringing to light the origins of *archai* in Western thought, and, second, by following The Way, itself a trope, and exploring the constructed landscapes revealing the *ethos* that existed between the Self and the architectural.

Key Words

archai, *ethos*, garden, temple, the fourfold, the Forms the Self, the architectural.

Figure 1: Map of The Way



Foreword

We walk past a rock, or a tree trunk, or a shrub's tufted foliage; we move up and down, following the rise and fall of the ground, tracing its convexities, which are the hills and mountains, and its concavities, which are the valleys.

... I stoop and pick up a stone. I caress it with my eyes, with my fingers. It is a piece of grey limestone. Fire moulded its divine shape, water sculpted it ... I rejoice in the way the universal laws are embodied and fulfilled in this stone —

I feel you growing in my imagination.

Stone, you compose the lineaments of this landscape. You are the landscape. You are the Temple that is crown of the precipitous rocks of your own Acropolis ... Is not the Temple also 'an explanation of the way in which the entirety of things is arranged'? Is its equilibrium not similar to that of the mountains of vegetation, of all living creatures?

... O earth, you reduce everything to yourself as the measure, the modulus which penetrates all things. You gave shape to the city, and to the various forms of government. You gave shape to the sounds that make up language. You foreshadowed the arts that involve words and forms. Is not this concordance, this rule of the same laws in both nature and art, that allows us to see forms of nature transformed before our very eyes into a different art form, or vice versa – or one art form transformed into a different art form? Is it not this concordance, this uniformity governing the apparently most diverse creations, which has the power to reveal and explain them by reflection, by comparison? ...

Dimitris Piconios

(from *Dimitris Piconios, Architect 1887-1968, A Sentimental Topography*, 1989:68-7)

1.0 Introduction: Constructed Landscapes

1.1 Background

There are certain commonalities between the disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture, the term 'built environment' being but one of them. The vocabulary used crosses from discipline to discipline and back again. Terms such as edges, nodes, landmarks, order, arrangement, symmetry, for example, are part of the lexicon of the built environment, be it a building, a garden, or an urban space. They are descriptive terms and facilitate the reading of the visual language, that is, the physical characteristics of the built environment.

My interest lies, however, not in the visual language of the 'built environment' but in the language of conceptual and figurative 'constructed landscapes'. There is a subtle, yet significant difference between these two terms. The second term is a trope, a play on the words of the first. Whereas built environment describes physical form, constructed landscapes describe not only physical form but can also be different in form. A dialogue or a poem, for instance, can be said to be a 'constructed landscape'.

Realising that I had a term that was elastic and therefore cross-disciplinary, I decided to employ it in a writing exercise as part of my early research. When I was re-reading Tom Turner's *Garden History: Philosophy and Design 2000 BC – 2000 AD* I came across references to Plato's theory of the Forms (Turner, 2005:15-16) and decided to write a Platonic Dialogue exploring the Forms and form using tropes to tease out a conundrum that I set for myself: what is the shape of an idea? My research into Plato's Forms led me into the world of the Presocratic Greek thinkers, and subsequently writers of the Classical period where I discovered that the Greeks expressed their theories through, what are

essentially, constructed landscapes – topographical poems, mytho-philosophical histories, geographies of the mind.

At the same time I re-read the earliest theoretical texts I had been introduced to as a first year undergraduate: in Landscape Architecture, *The Image Of the City* by Kevin Lynch (1961) and in Environmental Design, *The Ten Books On Architecture* by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, hereafter referred to as Vitruvius, (trans. Ingrid Rowland, 1999). I became aware that it was possible to trope their respective keywords: **paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks**, together with **first principles**, thus opening up richer, more complex, associations and connotations. These keywords later became part of my own theoretical framework.

Although first published in 1959, reprinted in 1961, and now over fifty years old, *The Image Of The City*, written by urban theorist Lynch, remains a seminal text for analysing urban form and creating a 'mental image' of the city. It is this 'mental image' that interests me, an internal picture drawn from external referents. The text outlines five major elements (1961:46-48) for reading the city, or, in the case of my thesis, the constructed landscape. The elements are separate, identifiable elements within the (urban) form, each of which relates in some way to the other, either physically or conceptually; together they present an 'image' of the form as a whole, that is, a legible mental map for the user or for reader. Together, these categories constitute the elements of Lynch's analysis of the modern city. They can be used however to read the mental image of older cities, even ancient ones as Lynch notes in his reference to the Athenian Acropolis (1961:124).

It was not until the end of the 1st century BC that the first extant Western architectural treatise was written. *De architectura*, known as *The Ten Books On Architecture*, was compiled by Roman architect and engineer Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (active between 47-30

BC) and dedicated to the Emperor Augustus. According to Vitruvius, the education of an architect begins with the understanding of the First Principles [Gk: **archai**] of architecture. The following excerpt comes from Rowland (1999: 24) as she provides, in succinct form, the essence of the Vitruvian model. Vitruvius argues:

architecture consists of ordering, which is called *taxis* in Greek, and of design – the Greeks call this *diathesis* – and shapeliness and symmetry and correctness and allocation, which is called *oikonomia* in Greek.

As elements of the architectural vocabulary, these Vitruvian concepts are known as order, arrangement, symmetry, proportion, propriety and economy (Patricia Curl, 1999). The terms used in this thesis are their respective Greek forms: ***taxis***, ***diathesis***, ***symmetria***, ***eurhthymia***, ***themstismos*** and ***oikonomia***.

My research, however, extends beyond aspects of the disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture to include archaeological, historical, and socio-cultural texts on ancient Greece and especially the *polis* of Athens. This was necessary as, there is to my knowledge, no book in the architecture or landscape architecture collections that describes, in any great detail, the constructed landscapes of the ancient Greek mind and its collective enquiry into *archai*. The archaeology texts proved most useful for my research; for example, the works of the American School Of Classical Studies in Athens (ASCSA.) Notwithstanding the physical evidence that provides the scholar with the possibility of reconstructing a building or a site, a temple or a sanctuary, the authors of these archaeology texts drew on direct references from the Greeks themselves, in the form of quotes from plays, poems, and philosophies that were contemporaneous with the age of the archaeological finds. From this it was possible to construct a complex mental image of the *polis* that has long disappeared under the city of Athens today.

I decided that my research should make a first contribution to what I perceived to be a need, not only for the student studying the history and theory of architecture or landscape architecture, but perhaps for the undergraduate students of archaeology as well: a new narrative model based on constructed landscapes that rendered a more profound 'mental image' of landscapes, both physical and conceptual. Having done most of the primary research, I began to develop the model upon which I have based my work. The idea germinated when reading the descriptions by Pausanias, a Lydian-born Greek traveller, who wrote a 'travelogue' of the built environment as he journeyed through Greece c.160 AD. His *Descriptions of Greece*, vol.1 (trans. WHS Jones, 1918) includes a walking tour of Athens at a time when the city was part of the Roman Empire. He provides descriptions, but, importantly, no images of each of the buildings he passes, often digressing about an associated history or myth. Curiously, only four times does he mention (and only in passing) the sight of vegetation in what is an otherwise comprehensive description, to wit: myrtle boughs covering a wooden statue of Hermes in the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis and Athena's olive tree nearby, believed to be the original tree that she presented to the Athenians (1.27.1), the olive trees at the Academy entrance, believed to be the first to grow from scions of the sacred olive on the Acropolis (1.30.1) and the pasture on the slopes of Mt Hymettos (1.32.1). I thought the idea of a conceptual 'day-trip' had merit but I was also puzzled. There was a gap in Pausanias' descriptions. A city such as Athens *must* have had deliberately landscaped areas, it *must* have had many gardens near temples and altars. After all, myriad trees, flowers, grasses and the like fill ancient Greek poetry and prose. I decided further research was needed.

I went to Athens in their Spring (April) of 2011 to see for myself, and to read in the libraries of the American and British Schools of Classical Studies. I visited the Acropolis, the Agora, and the Kerameikos, but unfortunately was not able to see the Academy site as it was

closed. I sat on The Areopagus and The Pnyx, and in the Theatre of Dionysos. I went to Delphi. And, there was certainly more than the myrtle and the olive! Whole hillsides, vales and plains of the trees and flowers the ancient Greeks spoke of can still be seen today: poplars, plane trees, the cypress and poppies, to name a few. The poetry of the ancient Greeks is still palpable in the physical landscape today.

I had, until this time, been intending to locate my research in a purely conceptual landscape. Having been immersed, for three weeks, in the actual sites and greater landscapes of the Athenian's ancient *polis*, Athens became the obvious choice for a real location. My own itinerary following the Panathenaic Way confirmed the concept of a walk through ancient Athens in 355 BC as a research model. The concept of a 'day-trip' walking through Athens for my research model might appear to be merely an update on Pausanias' travelogue (Pausanias, c.160 AD *Descriptions of Greece*, vol. 1, Book 1: Attica, trans. WHS Jones, 1918). To reiterate, Pausanias' text describes the Athenian built environment in the 1st century AD, when the Romans, who, by this time, were expanding their empire, had modified the Athenian landscape. Pausanias describes the locations and dates of construction of buildings and monuments, as well as their external and internal materiality. He provides brief commentaries, much of which, he confesses, are based on hearsay. As noted, Pausanias does not consider natural, or deliberately planted, landscapes in his descriptions, nor does he discuss at any length the constructed landscapes of the Athenians writers. I have, however, approached the city gates of Athens, as it were, from a very different point of entry. I have created seven Dialogues that take place between the philosopher, Plato, and a poet and gardener, Euphemios, as they travel through Athens over the course of a day discussing *archai* and related ideas through the tropes of the temple and the garden.

My initial broad reading had been across a timeframe spanning over 450 years between c.750 BC to c.300 BC. Notwithstanding the works of Homer and Hesiod, who wrote in the 8th century BC, and the continued influence of Homer, especially, into the Classical period, this has now been refined to explore *archai* from the 594 BC, the time of the Athenian Solon's *archonship*, until 355 BC, when the Dialogues are 'set'. This timeframe covers the second half of the Archaic period through to the latter part of the Classical period. I have used the works of Greek writers of this timeframe that relate to various aspects of my inquiry as primary sources together with the limited scholarly research currently available. There are, inevitably, excursions into landscapes beyond these dates, but they are few and close in date to the timeframe. Descriptions of buildings and monuments, where included, serve to further the primary discourse on *archai*. Based on research and interpretation of the material, I have also speculated about deliberately planted landscapes and their components. The Greeks relied solely on the poetic nature of their tropes to convey mental images in their constructed landscapes. I have deliberately take this path in the Dialogues and subsequent analysis, invoking the image through the elements and forms of that are embedded in the narrative of both.

1.2 Landscape and Garden: discussion of these terms

The decision to use the terms 'garden' and 'landscape' as intertwined tropes in the Dialogues has been given much thought as both 'garden' and 'landscape' have specific associations and yet differing theoretical connotations in a range of modern scholarly disciplines, such as, for example, history, geography, ecology and landscape architecture. Interpretation and representation of these terms as concepts-constructs are, in fact, much older than those which are expressed by exponents in these fields.

The trope of the garden (and the gardener) has origins in ancient texts, the Garden of Eden in the Christian bible being the most famous in Western literature. Described in the Book of Genesis (Genesis 2-3), in the Old Testament, the divine garden (a *paradeisos*) was created by God and gifted to Man-as-gardener. “And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it” (Genesis 2, line 15, King James Bible). Preceding the Dialogues in this thesis is a mytho-philosophical poem in which a ‘garden’ is created by a goddess, Gê, who was also known in antiquity through her epithet of Mother Earth. She is more ancient than the (relatively new) male God of the Christian bible. Also implicit in the origin of ‘the garden’ are the belief systems of the Greeks of antiquity which had long been held prior to the translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek by Greek scholars in the 3rd century BC (and known as the *Septuagint*), and which continued thereafter such was the power of the imagery of the ‘garden of the gods’ expressed in their figurative and literal constructed landscapes.

Interpretations of the ‘landscape’ and ‘garden’ by modern landscape theoreticians reflect a range of views on the role of Man and Nature and the degree to which Man should enter the landscape or ‘keep’ the garden. In her chapter ‘One with Nature’, Wishton Spirn writes, of gardens, they are

... expressions of harmonious relationships between human culture and the natural world. In the garden, there is both an attitude of beneficial management and an acknowledgement of natural phenomena that are beyond human control. (in DeLue and Elkins, 2008: 45)

On ‘landscape’ she offers this interpretation

Landscape meaning is complex, layered, ambiguous, never simple or linear. Fire consumes, transforms and renews. A river flows, provides, creates, destroys, simultaneously a path and a boundary, even a gateway ... put two or more elements together and potential meanings and associations grow. (in DeLue and Elkins 2008:55)

Although contemporary, these views are highly suggestive of the approach to 'garden' and 'landscape' taken by the ancient Greeks, in particular the earliest poets in relation to the former and the Presocratics in relation to the latter.

Another perspective of 'landscape', that of nature and ecology, is offered by Richard Forman and Michel Godron who suggest it is "a heterogeneous land area composed of a cluster of interacting ecosystems that is repeated in similar form throughout" (1986:11) which differs from the anthropocentric view of 'landscape' and 'garden' implied in the aforementioned definitions and interpretations. Also implicit in this are the concepts of form, scale, proximity, movement and transition. This view of the natural world is not new. It echoes the proto-scientific thought of the early Presocratics and even Plato's own mytho-philosophical landscapes in the *Timaeus* and in the *Critias* (both written 360 BC). As a trope, Forman's and Godron's statement even lends itself to the earliest Greek 'landscape' myths of Homer and Hesiod. Ian McHarg's essay 'An Ecological Method' (1967) also has parallels with ancient thought, and, in his own commentary 'Theory in Crisis', Corner makes the point

[i]t is not unfair to say that contemporary theory and practice have all but lost their metaphysical and mythopoetic dimensions, promoting a landscape architecture of primarily prosaic and technical construction. ... Theory today is therefore quite different from *theoria*, the original Greek formulation of theory ... [which] was meditative and reflective and was derived from the primary realms of human experience and perception (in Swaffield, 2002: 21).

Donald Meinig (1976) offers a poetic view suggesting "any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads" echoing the ancient Greeks, particularly the words of the Presocratic philosopher, Heraclitus. Conversely, Diane Harris and David Hays see 'landscape' as history, which invokes the temporal and

even the ephemeral in relation to the tangible or known. Moreover, they suggest landscapes be regarded as events, that is “they begin, develop, transform and eventually come to an end” (in Marc Treib, 2008:23). Yet in the ancient Greek mind, ‘landscape’ is more than event, it is more than *historia*; it is the intangible idea that enables the historical event to occur through narratives – both mythical and philosophical.

In the preface of *Recovering Landscape – Essays in Contemporary Landscape Architecture*, James Corner writes landscape

is less a quantifiable object than it is an idea, a cultural way of seeing, and as such it remains open to interpretation, design, and transformation. In constructing landscape, landscape architects provide some of the most revealing explorations of the interface between culture and nature, thus forging essential components of the construction of reality (1999:x).

The Greeks were revealing this at least 2700 years ago.

Of the modern discipline of landscape architecture, Turner (2005), for example, suggests the design of landscapes “concerns relationships between enclosures and their surroundings” (20025:3) and garden design “deals with the internal layout of enclosed space” (2005:3). These interpretations suggest that form, scale, proximity, movement and transition are important elements in ascribing to ‘landscape’ and ‘garden’ an associated term, that of ‘architecture’, itself concerned with form, scale and proximity, movement and transition. Turner further states “landscape architecture draws from its garden design heritage” (2005:244) which includes “the Vitruvian design tradition of balancing unity, firmness and beauty” (2005:244). This encapsulates the difficulties I have encountered in researching the concept-constructs of ‘landscape’ and ‘garden’ as they are interpreted in their English language forms. Using the original context of the German term ‘*Landschaft*’, geographer Denis Cosgrove suggests ‘landscape’ is ‘the unity of fellowship and rights

within the community” (2004:60). Kenneth Olwig goes further proposing “Custom and culture defined a *Land*, not physical geographical characteristics – it was a social entity that found physical expression in the area under its law” (Olwig, 2002:19). Thus the Self can find expression in ‘garden’ and in ‘landscape’. Mediaeval in origin, this view is not dissimilar to the ancient Greek perspective.

The poetic tropes of ‘landscape’ and ‘garden’ are, I think, beautifully expressed by Robert Pogue Harrison (2008) who explores, at length, another view of the concept-construct of ‘garden’ as a representation of the Self and its cultivation. In particular, his thoughts on the garden as a metaphor for education are most insightful for this thesis. For example, in Chapter six, ‘Academos’, he writes about the earliest Western garden-as-teaching environment, in Plato’s own Academy outside the walls of urban Athens. I conclude this section on definitions and interpretations of ‘landscape’ and ‘garden’ with a quote from Harrison who writes the garden

... stands at the centre of a human mode of being that stretches between two impossibilities, or two irrevocable losses, nature or God. ... It is our relation to nature that defines the tension at the centre of which stands not only the garden but [also] the human *polis* as such. This embodied notion of human order – taking as it does many diverse forms – links the garden to the *polis*, that is to say the realm of those interactions in and through which human beings, through their own initiatives, give form and articulation to their historical worlds (2008:47-8).

It is this ‘relation to nature’ and how it is cultivated that is exemplified in the constructed landscapes of the ancient Greek *polis*. For this reason I have employed these terms as tropes in the Dialogues and their analysis in the thesis and developed a theoretical approach akin to the Greeks of antiquity.

1.3 Research parameters

As noted, I have chosen two seminal texts to frame my research, *Image Of The City* (Lynch, 1961) and *The Ten Books On Architecture* (Vitruvius, translated by Rowland, 1999). Both have been revised and reprinted. The editions I have used in my work are currently academically highly accepted. There are three important parameters that should be mentioned. First, the subject of *archai* and their origins, especially in relation to architecture and landscape architecture, is missing from the literature of these disciplines and therefore the conventional review of literature has not been possible. Instead, I have relied on the voices of the ancient Greeks, and while I bring to this discourse my own voice, the focus remains fundamentally, where possible, on their own words. Second, I have excluded the Greek geometer, Pythagoras, from my discourse on *archai* as the Western discipline of architecture (and landscape architecture to a lesser degree) has, beginning with Vitruvius, followed the Pythagorean model, and not recognised the applications of *archai* pursued in the seven Dialogues of this thesis. Third, ancient Athens was famously regarded as a seafaring nation during the Archaic and Classical periods as well as a great naval power during the latter (and into the Hellenistic period). Much of her political and economic history is discussed by others in detail by, for example, Victor Ehrenberg (1973); Preston James (1972); Simon Hornblower and Tony Spawforth (1998) but is beyond the scope of the subject of *archai* and is therefore not included in the discourse within the Dialogues.

There are a small number of constraints that have I have addressed in my research of the thesis. Various foreign terms, usually Greek, Latin, or French, are associated with the disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture. As a 21st century scholar in these disciplines I am familiar with these, often ancient, words but as I am not a Classicist versed in ancient Greek I am limited to scholarly English translations of Archaic and Classical

texts. As such, I have relied on academically recognised English translations of Greek philosophies, dialogues, and treatises, poems and plays for my research. The ancient Greek poetry that has been sourced and used in my thesis has also come from recognised translations. The dates of these vary from the early to late 20th century (and thus descriptive forms of some may appear dated); however, the insights into ancient landscapes remain invaluable for my thesis.

The German archaeological excavation teams that have been working in Athens over the last 100 years have written extensively about the Agora and its surrounding precincts but as I do not read German fluently I have relied on the academic work of the American and British archaeological teams. The last, but perhaps the most important constraint is that Greek *archai* were, as I have contended, reconfigured in Roman architectural theory in the 1st century BC and their Greek origins and meaning known to us through writing, have, since then, been buried under a succession of ‘visually orientated’ strata.

1.4 Aims and objectives

The primary aim of my research has been to trace the Western origins of *archai* back to their Greek sources and then to develop a creative narrative model, a constructed landscape of ancient Athens through which *archai*, not as architectural terms but as constructions of the ancient Greek mind could be explored through myth, poetry and philosophy. Based on these aims and objectives six propositions are central to this thesis.

1. The Western origins of Vitruvius’ ‘first principles’, that is, *archai*, have their roots in the constructed landscapes of the ancient Greeks and the first written evidence for this began with the works of Homer and Hesiod in the 8th century BC.

2. In the Greek mind, *archai* formed the core of their systems of thought and were inherently bound to *ethos* and were reflected in the individual, and the collective, Athenian mind and this has been revealed through the transition from belief to reason, from myth to metaphor.
3. The role and presence of the Greek *theoi* in the constructed landscape, though diminished by the advent of the natural philosophers, continued to endure in the collective mind of the *polis* and, moreover, divine law always subjugated mortal law.
4. Successive forms of Greek myth, poetry and philosophy demonstrate that sustaining *archai* was fundamental to the bond between the Self and the architectural.
5. The concept of the architectural is related to that of *archai* in their Greek original usage.
6. The importance of the natural landscape in ancient Greek religion and philosophy is evidenced in the Dialogues through the writings of the Greeks between the 8th and 4th centuries BC.

The broader objective is to enrich the history and theory aspects of the disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture with regard to ancient sites, especially those of which little or nothing remains.

The discourse has been developed around the Lynch's elements and in each Dialogue these have been used to highlight, through a physical element, a mythic or metaphoric trope of an that element or form. This discursive use of Lynch's elements has facilitated drawing together the complex ideas of the interlocutors in the Dialogues. The elements have been employed in much the same way as they are in physical landscapes, that is,

they orientate the Self in relation to the architectural, although in the landscapes of the Dialogues this has taken on a different meaning through the use of tropes. Although discrete elements, they form a whole, a 'mental image' of the Self in relation to the architectural and the Athenian *polis* in 355 BC. Through this, the meaning behind Pan's final conundrum in the Acropolis Dialogue and the *logos* of *The Gardener's Poem* will be revealed.

1.5 Thesis structure

As primarily visual disciplines, the notion of the image has been central to landscape architecture and architecture and its associated scholarly discourse, often, I believe, given *thematismos* or authority over the written word. This hierarchy or *taxis* (order) is reversed in this thesis, in both its form and content. The word as *logos* is here given primacy. A singular conceptual map informs the reader of the research path I have taken.

This thesis comprises nine chapters, a reference list, and appendices. It is structured somewhat differently from most other doctoral theses in the disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture. Following the introductory chapters and a synopsis of the seven Platonic-style Dialogues, I introduce the reader to the language style of the thesis by way of a self-penned mytho-philosophical poem. This precedes the Dialogues that are, in turn, followed by the analysis and conclusion. The primary purpose of the Dialogues is to introduce, through the interlocutors, *archai*, and the elements and the forms that constitute them. These are then comprehensively analysed. The use of tropes in the Dialogues as an intellectual discursive form offers a richer reading of *archai*. Seven locations in Athens have been selected as topographical and geographical mental maps in a series of seven interconnected broader landscapes that follow the trajectory from the Pompeion to the Acropolis.

2.0 Epistemological Foundation

2.1 Introduction

Given the constructed landscapes of language I created and subsequently analysed in this thesis, finding an epistemological foundation that offered a 'formal expressive model' has been challenging. Contemporary epistemologies such as semiotics, structuralism and post-structuralism, postmodernism and critical analysis discourse were rejected as they were either too closely allied to linguistics or, conversely, too limited by their own conventions and methodological approaches. The reasons for this are discussed briefly before elaborating on the epistemological foundation upon which I have undertaken my research.

While the semiotic approach of theorists such as Charles Sanders Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure (the latter of whom uses the term semiology) is to make sense of the world through 'signposts', to perceive in it an order (*taxis*) and arrangement (*diathesis*) and derive meaning through these concept-constructs, it was felt that a semiotic approach was too closely allied to linguistic analysis. Structuralism, whose proponents include Jean Piaget, Claude Levi-Strauss and Roland Barthes, focuses on the elements of culture (including symbols in language-constructs) being understood in relation to a higher system, and while this is a major theme in the thesis, the methodology does not fit the approach taken in this thesis. Similarly, post-structuralism, and writers such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, for example, whose emphasis on the inadequacy of language as the medium of verifiable 'form' of 'signpost' was rejected as a methodology. This approach, too, had its limitations, focusing on either the power of language or its 'trace'. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), developed by Norman Fairclough, is a multi-disciplinary approach used in the humanities and social sciences whose emphasis the links between language and power, and although the concept of authority (*thematismos*)

through language is an aspect of the thesis, it is in a markedly different form. A Postmodernist approach does not provide a suitable epistemological grounding for the nature of this thesis.

Of these epistemologies, their theoretical approaches to knowledge acquisition and to understanding phenomena are, in the broad sense of a post-industrial scientific world (and, I might add, a post-mythical one), thoroughly modern and therefore carry with them an equally modern 'way'. This I was not interested in. Instead, I looked to the ancient Greeks and the paths inscribed in the constructed landscapes by the earliest Western writers of *archai* - not only *taxis* (order), *diathesis* (arrangement), and *thematismos* (cultural bonds and authority) but also, *eurhymia* (harmony and balance), *symmetria* (equanimity through balance and measure) and *oikonomia* (careful management). In their collective works is evidence of narratology as an epistemological model.

2.2 Narratology: an ancient Greek epistemological form

The epistemology for literary works is fertile ground as is evidenced by the number of theoretical linguistic models that have taken root in the collective mind of a significant number of notable 20th century thinkers. Having dismissed the majority of these, I began to explore narrative theory. While modern narrative theory begins with the Russian Formalists of the early 20th century, its origins lie in the ancient Greek landscapes of Platonic and, later, Aristotlean, literary criticism (David Buchbinder, 1999: 3; Vishwa Adluri, 2006:407; Nick Lowe, 2000, 3). However, as the Dialogues of this thesis are set before the onset of Aristotle's influence, it is the Platonic model that is incorporated into the narratives. Moreover, the Western concept of 'plot', implicit in a narrative (and narratological analysis), has its own epistemological grounding in the myths of the ancient Greeks, beginning with the Epic poems of the Archaic poet Homer as a device for the

telling (and retelling) of events that unfolded over time (Lowe, 2000:3) and it is this original Greek landscape of 'narratology' that forms the epistemological foundation for both the structure and 'plot' of this thesis. In short, this thesis was conceived of, and made manifest as, a narrative model and its epistemology incorporates an ancient Greek form of narratology.

Primarily cultivated in literary fields, narratology is the study of, and the theory of, narratives, their structure and the manner in which we perceive a set of events or ideas (Johnathon Culler 2001:189). Narratology "requires a distinction between 'story', a sequence of actions or events conceived as independent of their manifestation in discourse, and 'discourse', the discursive presentation or narration of events" (Culler, 2001:189). Discourse, an elastic term, is employed in this thesis to refer to "a specific set of concepts or ideas, and a terminology appropriate to the subject ... which may intersect with one another, or may include, or be related to another (or several others)" (Buchbinder, 1991:5). From the perspective of the *theoi* to a more humanist outlook over almost four centuries, Greek narratology led to newer interpretations and theories of older ideas in Greek literature. "Theories of literature are theories about how we read literary texts ... and from them we can learn the strengths and weaknesses of a particular practice of reading" (Buchbinder, 1991:2). From Homer to the collective Presocratic narratives is revealed the continuum of theoretical "views on the nature and origin of the world, our knowledge of it and how we should act in it" (Ennis, 2007:157). In the Dialogues and their analysis I employ the term 'Presocratic thinkers' to include contemporaneous Greek voices other than the earliest natural philosophers as I believe, as does Ennis, "there is sufficient reason for expanding the definition of a Presocratic thinker to include poets, ... politicians and rhetoricians" (2007:158). Their ideas are part of the critical reflection of the analysis of the Dialogues in which they speak.

Both narratives and their associated narratology organise time, order events, and impose a point of view and like any “single theory will be able to do some things but not others, and thus will provide certain advantages, not all of which relate to the reading of literary texts” (Buchbinder, 1991:6). It is therefore incumbent on the reader to give form, *taxis* and *diathesis* to an internal world of the narrative and question the significance of the clues in the Dialogues. In the Platonic dialogical narrative “the reader is invited not merely to think but to participate in philosophy by experiencing a conversation ...in this sense the dialogues are not about philosophy, but rather show that philosophy is about the transformation of the reader” (Adluri, 2006:422). Mental imagery plays an important role in such narratives, which recount events in a given landscape. In ancient Greek practice, this mental imagery sets the ‘scene’ for the pace and direction of the external expression, or form, of the discourse, encouraging the reader, or the audience, to ‘see’ the internal logic of the narrative itself. As a consequence, through this critical engagement, the reader, or the audience, was able to analyse the plot as well as follow it. This is what narratives and narratology offer to the reader of this thesis.

2.3 What is the shape of the research idea and why write the Dialogues?

Seeking to understand the ‘nature of the idea’ that I wished to explore and give it shape in this thesis precipitated a new ‘old’ way of thinking about philosophies of knowledge and its acquisition. I had discovered that the Platonic ‘tree of knowledge’ was grounded in Presocratic thought, which, in turn, had its collective roots in ancient Greek constructed landscapes. Along with the Archaic and Classical Greek poets, these writers employed a common literary device, that of tropes. It became clear that this was not only a possible, but also an authoritative precedent and the idea and form of it were malleable through the tropes of Plato and his forebears. But what should the outward form of the idea be?

Requiring a scholarly approach to develop my intended discourse, I looked to the Greek scholars again as their ideas, forms and tropes have endured; these have been studied and employed in discourse for over 2500 years. From the earliest poets to the Presocratics and Plato, Greek thinkers used these forms of expression to articulate their ideas at a time when the word in discourse (and not the visual image) had primacy. This is evident through the advent and dissemination of written texts from the late Archaic and Classical periods. Yet, even in 355 BC, when the Dialogues are set, the spoken word, the oral transfer of ideas, through poetry, prose and rhetoric, was still the single most eloquent means of expressing them to as wide an audience as possible. The Greeks wrote and spoke with their fellow citizens in mind; the use of the trope (among other rhetorical devices) was commonplace. Notwithstanding their meaning in constructed landscapes had changed over successive generations, the concept-constructs of *archai* were always on the ‘tip of the collective Greek tongue’ and, so to speak, embedded in the collective Athenian dialogue on mytho-philosophy.

Plato employs dialogues to ‘tease out the roots’ of an enquiry, and, as Harrison writes of Plato’s method, “the difference between written texts and what transpires between teacher and student in live dialogue (or ‘dialectic’) is the difference between sterility and fertility” (2008:63), a reference not misplaced in the broader context of the gardens of both the poet and the philosopher in the Dialogues in this thesis. It is not only plausible, then, but also deferential, to continue this form of address on the topic of *archai* and its earliest written Western origins. Although aspects of the Dialogues may appear somewhat contrived, they are so by necessity. The Dialogues are, after all, an artifice, a construction, and their primary purpose is didactic.

2.4 Voices 1: why Plato and Euphemios?

Constructed landscapes are not static but dynamic. In them are found myriad elements including paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. These are signposted through form, which is manifested as ideas and structures, that is, concept-constructs, and expressed in the Dialogues through the medium of the word, written and voiced. Although Plato wrote his own didactic dialogues, he taught through verbal dialectic. The importance of this in the Dialogues, which form the core of this thesis, and the analysis, is that Plato represents this period of development, of disseminating ideas and acquiring knowledge. Moreover, Plato's thinking is representative of a male-dominated society, in which only citizens (men) were entitled to an education, considered necessary if one was to fully participate in *polis* life.

Women were not formally educated but rather trained in the area of *oikonomia*, integral to domestic affairs (Mogens Hansen, 2006:110). For example, the 'gift' of Athena to women, the skill of weaving, offered the women of the Athenian *polis* a rare opportunity to take part in *polis* life through their role in weaving and presenting the *peplos* to Athena (represented in the form of a statue) in her temple on the Acropolis. It was also the role of women to prepare and serve the meals made from the fruit of both the wild and cultivated landscapes, including the fig, Demeter's gift to Man. Women were also responsible for the threshing and winnowing of grain from the fields to make bread, a staple of the Athenian household. It was women who collected the water from the public fountains (although they were accompanied by a male, usually a domestic slave) and the women who made the honey cakes as offerings to the gods and goddesses.

The female association with Gê, Mother Earth, (who is older than Zeus, the patriarch of the Greek pantheon of the *theoi*) through veneration in cultic practices such as those

performed by women at the end of the harvest season and as part of the annual Panathenaic Procession or even in everyday domestic chores (Hansen, 2006:119) is reflected in the Dialogues through the voice of Euphemios. Although a young man, his 'nature' gives voice to the feminine associations between Man, myth and landscape. It is Euphemios who carries, literally and figuratively, the collective work and the otherwise unheard voices of the female counterpart in Man's world. This is expressed through his journey along the Processional Way in the company of an older, male 'guardian', Plato, a reference to the philosopher's own stance on 'guardianship' in his text, *The Republic*.

2.5 Voices 2: the importance of Pan

The role of Pan in the Dialogues is that of guide and interpreter through the constructed landscapes of the Dialogues. Of the wilderness, like the original gardener, Gê, Pan observes the activities of Man from the elevated position of a god. Often depicted in the Dialogues lurking above Plato and Euphemios, concealed, for example, in the frieze of a temple or reclining in the branches of a tree (themselves tropes), he introduces, explicates and sometimes teases the reader regarding the tropes in each Dialogue. Moreover, Pan follows the discourse on Greek *archai* (tropes of Vitruvius' first principles) along the Way from the first sowing of seed to the blossoming of the Self in relation to *ethos* and 'the architectural'. An interpreter of Lynch's 'elements' which are embedded in the constructed landscapes of the Dialogues, Pan draws together the ideas expressed in them and gradually reveals to the reader the Greek origins and meaning of *archai* through the device of 'markers on the landscape'. Akin to markers placed alongside a road that show the distance already travelled and the proximity to a destination, Pan's markers locate and orientate the reader along The Way. Without the voice of Pan as a mediator between the mythical, poetical and philosophical aspects of the Dialogues, there would be no critical voice to question the words of Euphemios or Plato, or even the other voices that are

heard. Pan is, therefore, critical in the literal and figurative sense of the word throughout the discourse in the thesis.

2.6 The Self: as the personification of *Ethos*, of Dwelling and of Cultivation.

The concept-construct of the Self is central to the discourse in the Dialogues as the embodiment of ancient Greek *ethos*. Inherent in this embodied *ethos* is the worldly personification of the tropes of dwelling and cultivation. Through dwelling the intellectual Self is developed, and through cultivation, the cultural Self emerges. Opening the Dialogues, Pan muses about this, asking if “...dwelling and cultivation are / The Way / Of the architectural / And of the Self...” Thereafter, the philosopher and poet orientate themselves (and the reader) in relation to the constructed landscape of 355 BC as the respective voices of the tropes of dwelling cultivation. For each the Self is developed through the observance of *archai*, the true subject of their ensuing discussions.

For Vitruvius, who wrote some 250 years after the Dialogues are ‘set’, *archai* were the foundations of the education of the architect and, by extension, knowledge of the architectural. For him, the Self had no relationship with *archai* beyond its architectural connotations. His Roman view of the ancient Greek world was far more pragmatic and far less poetic. Dwelling and cultivation were prosaic notions: one a physical form, the other an agricultural activity. Rather than being grounded or orientated in the constructed landscapes of the Greeks, especially the Archaic and Classical Athenians, he was ‘lost’. He did not ‘see’ what the Greeks ‘saw’. The Dialogues serve to rediscover this ‘lost’ relationship, to highlight the importance of the Self as an identity bound to the original Greek meaning of *archai*.

Lynch argues the “need to recognize and pattern our surroundings is so crucial, and has such long roots in the past, that this image has wide practical and emotional importance to the individual (Lynch, 1961:4). Lynch’s elements, that of path, edge, district, node and landmark, serve as markers in the constructed landscapes of the Dialogues to reinforce the nature of the relationship between the Self and ‘the architectural’. Both philosopher and poet employ these elements as tropes as forms of way-finding in the constructed landscapes. The single most important element in relation to the Self is the trope of ‘path’, that is, The Way, which is followed by the philosopher, the poet, Pan and the reader.

2.7 Summary

The epistemology I have employed offers the framework needed for such an approach as the Dialogues takes in this thesis. Each of the aspects discussed (above) is integral to plot, to narrative, to narratology, to the Greek way of ‘seeing’. It allows for a broader reading of the terms of landscape and garden as tropes and invokes the continuing critical questioning of the Greeks of antiquity about their world and the relationships within it.

3.0 Elements of the Landscape: Form and *Phuta*

3.1 Introduction

Almost two thousand years separate the writing of the two primary theoretical works that structure my doctoral research, namely, Lynch's *Image Of The City* (1961) and Vitruvius' *Ten Books On Architecture* (late 1st century BC). Both are considered seminal texts in their own right; together they form a rigorous theoretical framework for research in the fields of architecture and landscape architecture. When each of these authors' fundamental premises are troped, however, and employed in my research, these premises transcend the physical and material aspects of constructed landscapes, and enter the conceptual spatiality of the world of ancient Athens during the period 594 - 355 BC. The landscape of ancient Athens and its surrounding regions supported a wide variety of *phuta* (plants), many of which are described in the poetic forms of the ancient Greeks and are critical elements of their myths. A small number of the 450 or so plant species identified by the Athenian philosopher and botanist, Theophrastos, in the 3rd century BC (Penelope Hobhouse, 2002:36) have been introduced into the various locations in which the Dialogues are set to demonstrate the important relationship the Greeks had with their landscapes, and which are known to us predominantly through myth and poetry.

3.2 Elements and Form: *The Image of the City*

As noted, although now over fifty years old, Lynch's text *The Image Of The City* outlines five major elements (1961:46-48) for reading the landscape of the city: **paths, edges, districts, nodes, landmarks**. Lynch uses these five categories as tools to analyse the city and create an image of urban form. He also develops ten categories of form (1961:105-108): **singularity, form simplicity, continuity, dominance, clarity of joint, directional differentiation, visual scope, motion awareness, times series, names and meanings**.

Together, these five elements and ten categories of form constitute the theoretical framework for Lynch's analysis of the modern city. They can, however, be used to read the image of older cities, and even ancient ones, as Lynch notes in his reference to the Athenian Acropolis (1961:124).

Paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks are everywhere to be found in ancient physical landscapes, whether created by nature, animals, or man. Using these elements as Lynch intends, as markers in the physical landscape to orientate or way-find, one can signpost a route and create a map to navigate through a particular territory, and if the territory is unfamiliar this is all the more necessary and welcome. These elements and forms create a

... vivid and integrated physical setting, capable of producing a sharp image, [which] plays a social role as well. It can furnish the raw material for the symbols and collective memories of group communication (1961:4).

As symbols, or abstracted forms, Lynch's elements also offer the possibility of extrapolation from the physical landscape into the realm of the 'constructed landscape' and it is for this reason that I have chosen to employ them in the Dialogues and analysis. Lynch argues that an "environmental image may be analysed into three components: identity, structure, and meaning" (1961:6). Paths, edges, districts, node and landmarks become the structural component of the narrative landscape from which meaning is derived and identity created. Lynch also observes the "environmental image may go further, and act as an organizer of activity" (1961:126) ... and, he continues, "... distinguishing and patterning environments may be a basis for the ordering of knowledge" (1961:126). Again, it is for these points that Lynch makes that his elements as 'signposts' are inscribed, literally and figuratively, into the landscapes of the Dialogues.

3.3 Elements and Form: as tropes

Lynch's elements and forms have obvious literal parallels in other fields: those of architecture, landscape architecture, archaeology, geography and topography. Used figuratively, as lexical tropes, the elements have parallels in literature, in the case of this thesis, in ancient Greek poetry, plays, and philosophy. For example, paths can be narratives; edges, boundaries of thought. Districts can be thought of as systems of ideas, and nodes, the convergence, and divergence, of these ideas. Textual landmarks provide a point of reference against which other elements can be orientated and read.

Lynch's aforementioned categories of form, too, can be extrapolated to provide a more complex reading of the image. If complexity, intensity, and size are aspects of singularity in the urban environment, their form in the cultural landscape of ancient Athens is as vivid and recognisable as the natural and built landscape. Simplicity of form, or its appearance, often belies a deeper, more complex ideal system and the continuity of the ideal in various forms is inherent in Athenian narratives.

Dominating these narratives during the late Archaic and Classical periods (594 - 355 BC) are the myths of Homer and Hesiod, although written in the 8th century BC. Homer's Epic narrative of a former Golden Age of heroes, and Hesiod's origin poems recount the inextricable relationships between mortals, gods, and the natural landscape. Then, towards the end of the 6th century BC, the first Western natural philosophies about the environment arise and are, in turn, eventually subsumed into the philosophy of the Classical mind including Plato's prose rationale about the model for the ideal city. Throughout the transitions, the mythical landscape remains a constant element in the various forms of constructed landscapes. In urban form there are visible shifts in the language of the landscape. There are also shifts in the language of cultural landscapes,

widening the scope for reading the mental image not merely as a series of disparate, physical, elements and forms but as an integrated, conceptual whole. Perspective can be gained through movement; that is, physical, spatial, and even temporal movement. Shifts in direction or pace, or the introduction of such devices as a different scale and, or, use of form affect perspective and can change a pattern of movement either directly or indirectly. Identity is constructed through meaning and association of form and, often, form and meaning can be one and the same. This is reflected through the language of the landscape, both physical and conceptual.

3.4 *Archai: The Ten Books on Architecture*

The second primary text around which I have structured my research is an ancient treatise written in the 1st century BC that was, and still is, intended as a template of ‘first principles’, that is, *archai*, for the student of architecture. As such, it can also be used as a tool for analysis of the physical aspects of landscape architecture. Written by Roman engineer and architect, Vitruvius, *The Ten Books On Architecture* is the only extant Western architectural treatise from antiquity. Based on his understanding of Greek architectural practices it begins with an exposition of the six ‘first principles’ (*archai*) of architecture (Vitruvius, trans. Rowland, 1999:24-5): order (Gk: ***taxis***), arrangement (Gk: ***diathesis***), symmetry (Gk: ***symmetria***), eurhythmy (Gk: ***eurhythmia***), propriety (Gk: ***thematismos***), and economy (Gk: ***oikonomia***).

3.5 *Archai*: as tropes

Apart from citing the obvious relationships between architecture and landscape in the *Ten Books* (that is, climate and topography), Vitruvius did not consider landscape beyond its material applications (for example, Book II, Ch. VIII - stone; Book II, Ch. IX, X - timber;

Book VI, Ch. I - climate; Book III, Ch. I - water). Yet the ancient Greeks did. For them, the world and its landscapes were a manifestation of *taxis*, *diathesis*, and *symmetria*. The Greeks of antiquity believed that only through a concordance of these could a state of *eurhythmia* be achieved (James, 1972:34-36). Further, as my research demonstrates, for the ancient Greeks *oikonomia* was fundamental to the integrity of the *polis*, and, by extension, the Self, and *thematismos*, as a cultural construct, was reflected through the shifting, yet enduring, relationship between gods and mortals.

As with Lynch's elements and forms, I have similarly troped Vitruvius' 'first principles' (*archai*). The use of tropes was a favourite linguistic and rhetorical device of the ancient Greek writers, and also of architects, and sculptors. Through tropes, Greek thinkers abstracted spatial relationships. The construct became a concept although the reverse is also true. The real value of tropes, though, is their ability to make poetic the ordinary, to elevate meaning above form.

3.6 *Phuta*: to come into being

The ancient Greek word *phuta*, or plants, from *phuein* 'to come into being; to grow' has also been troped for the discourse in the Dialogues. *Phuta* are embedded into the constructed landscape as landmarks, as nodes, as symbolic references to a particular god or goddess, and, as elements on which to graft new ideas onto old traditions. The etymological origins of the term reflect not only the *ethos* and theories of the speakers in the Dialogues but also the *archai* as the 'grounding' element that orientates the Self in relation to the constructed landscapes the architectural.

3.7 Summary

Whereas Lynch proposes that his categories be employed to analyse only “the effects of physical perceptible objects” (1961:46), that is, the effect of the built form and, to a lesser extent, the natural environment, of the city upon the user, I have employed Lynch’s categories as narrative devices to develop a deeper reading of the image of the elements and forms of ancient Athens. Vitruvius too, is concerned with the physical and the material aspects of *archai*. Instead, I have used the same *archai* to reveal an image of ancient Athens and its greater environs as represented through conceptual topographies. The inclusion of plant references further enhances the imageability of the constructed landscapes; this begins with the mytho-philosophical poem that precedes the Dialogues.

4.0 Orientation in the Landscape

4.1 Introduction

In 522 BC, a stone datum marker was erected in the Athenian Agora. It read, in part, “the city set me up, a truthful monument to show all mortals the measure of their journeying” (John Camp, 2001:42). Implicit in the concept of journeying is way-finding. Implicit in both words is the concept of ‘orientation’ that places a person, an artefact, or an idea in a “relative position in both a literal and figurative sense” (Robert Barnhart, 1988:736) in a landscape. In the physical and conceptual world of constructed landscapes, orientation locates the Self. Orientation establishes a reference point, a datum, from which to begin journeying, or way-finding, not only outward, but inward as well.

4.2 Poet-philosophers

Researching this thesis was a kind of journeying, of way-finding through the mytho-philosophical landscapes of ancient Athens, some familiar, others not. My guides have been the Archaic and Classical Greek philosophers, and geographers, in concert with the myriad voices in early Greek poetry, and later, in the plays of the Athenians. In their use of language, especially tropes, I find a reference point, a datum that orientates me in my own journeying. The use of tropes in Greek myth began with the earliest poets and their use continued with the Presocratic writers of *geographia*, and subsequently, the Classical Athenian playwrights and poets. Although Plato rejected poetry as means of way-finding, he too uses them, for example, in his *Timaeus* (360 BC). In short, the Greeks of antiquity relied on the mental imagery created through words to construct their landscapes of ideas.

4.3 Pan as guide and interpreter

In unfamiliar terrain in which one encounters unfamiliar language an interpreter is often used to ensure that communication - be it verbal or written - is clearly understood. The guide can interpret landmarks, choose the best path where many intersect at a junction or node, point out the known edges of a territory, and generally offer an insight into the greater landscape through which the traveller (or, in this case, the reader) finds himself or herself. The interpreter can move from one district or field of knowledge to another and bring together ideas from each. In the Dialogues and the analysis that follows, Pan acts as both guide and interpreter, 'signposting' Lynch's elements and forms, demonstrating that Vitruvius' 'first principles' have their origins in Greek constructed landscapes, and reviewing, for the reader, the ideas of the interlocutors in the Dialogues.

4.4 Summary

I have approached the writing of the thesis much as I would as a gardener in a new landscape. I have my tools (words) and a plan (narratology), but, more importantly, I have read the physical and conceptual landscapes (referents) of Athens, for they too orientate me. Within Athens and its environs lie the origins of the canon of Western thought, the geography of the mind, and therein dwell the poet-philosophers, the landscape architects of the Athenian topographical poem. Therein is revealed the image of the Self in relation to *ethos* and the architectural.

5.0 Landmarks in the Landscape

5.1 Introduction

It is the ancient Greeks themselves who best reflect the landscapes of Athens. By reading the works of the Greek, and especially Athenian, writers, it is possible to wander, as it were, through the constructed landscapes of Athens, to explore the paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks, and create a mental image of *archai* in them. The works of the Greeks that I have researched were first written at least 2700 years ago. In them can be located conceptual landscapes of *taxis*, *diathesis*, *eurhythmia*, *oikonomia*, *thematismos*, and *symmetria* – landscapes of beliefs, of ideas. The physical landscape of Archaic and Classical Athens has, since the late 19th century AD, been unearthed and undergoing analysis by a number of archaeological teams. I have relied primarily, but not solely, on the comparatively recent findings over the last 60 years of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA). Twentieth century texts on archaeological findings, together with translated works of the ancient Greeks, have provided a comprehensive image of Athens during the period 594 - 355 BC.

5.2 Landscapes as context

Landscapes, both natural and constructed, have always been paradigms for the world and its place in the universe. Expanding on studies and beliefs from the older Egyptian, Sumerian and Babylonian civilisations, and from the Assyrians and the Phoenicians, the ancient Greeks sought ways to comprehend the world and its environments, its inhabitants and their relationships (James, 1972:21-22). Emerging from the constructed landscapes of Archaic Greek mythology, and subsequently from the Presocratics, narratives and theories of *archai* later found expression in works by the Classical writers and beyond. Whether through poetic narrative or empirical science, the ancient Greeks wrote on multiple

subjects across a range of disciplines. It is possible to find, for example, in poetry, references to geography and topography, in philosophy, references to the *polis*. In *historia* are found references to nature and the cosmos. Indeed, combinations of all of these are found in each.

5.3 Exemplars: poetry, plays and philosophy

Arguably, the earliest form of the Greek constructed landscape is poetry. Hitherto only oral, epic poems began to be written down during the 8th century BC (Norman Melchert, 1995:1). Beginning with Homer and Hesiod, poets of the 8th and 7th centuries were preoccupied with *archai*, gods and mortals, and their interdependent spatial relationships. Later, the 5th century BC Greek historian, Herodotus, claimed that Homer and Hesiod created the theology of the Greeks, ascribing to gods and goddesses their names, genealogy, attributes, and exploits (Robert Lamberton in Grafton, Most, and Settis, 2010:449). An early example of the conceptual complexity of the world before even the existence of the gods and goddesses is found in Hesiod's *Theogony*. In it, *archai* are explicated through the trope of reproduction. Similarly, authors in the 6th century, beginning with Hecataeus, the first writer of Greek prose (James, 1972:593), constructed landscapes that reveal the origins of the world through reproductive tropes. The elements of nature found expression in the writings of the Presocratic natural science philosophers.

The first of these, Thales, believed that *hudor* was the fundamental element of everything (Johnathon Barnes, 2001:9). For Anaximenes, *aer* was the origin of all things (Barnes, 2001:24). Later, others such as Heraclitus claimed *pyr* as the *archē*, whilst vociferously condemning the earlier writers and poets, especially Homer, for their theories on origins and *archai* (Barnes, 2001:51). Then came Parmenides with his theory of The One and,

afterwards, Empedocles, who was the first to suggest that the four elements - *ge*, *hudor*, *aer*, and *pyr* - were, together, the origin of all things. These are but a few of the great thinkers of the Greek world who preceded Socrates and then Plato in the late 5th and subsequent 4th centuries BC.

Great insights into *archai* throughout the 5th and 4th centuries are also found in the constructed landscapes of the Athenian playwrights, as for example, Aeschylus' *The Oresteia*, and Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*. As well, in Euripides' *Ion* the eponymous central character has to reconcile faith and intellect, belief and knowledge, through *archai*, and Aristophanes' *Clouds* reveals the shifting attitudes towards *archai* through the tropes of nature, and is telling for its ironic parody of Socrates as a Sophist in his 'Thinkery'.

5.4 From Belief to Reason: Plato's mytho-philosophy

Constructed landscapes transcend the boundaries of architecture, landscape architecture, and urban form in general, and explore the meaning of *archai* in relation to the complexity of form in a conceptual world. In Athens, for instance, the constructed landscape was manifested both in literal and figurative form. It is the birthplace, in the 5th century BC, of Plato. His school, the Academy, is situated one and half kilometres beyond the *polis* walls (though only foundations of the complex of buildings and grounds remain today). Here, he taught and wrote about his theory of the Forms, about the four elements, about the origins of the world, and the ideal State. In many of his dialogues, *archai* constitute the landscape of the Platonic world and the Platonic Self.

My thesis does not critically analyse Plato's doctrines, or those of the other Presocratic 'voices' in the Dialogues. In the context of the seven Dialogues, and the analysis, this is

unimportant. Rather, the discourse follows the development of Greek thought from myth to philosophy, especially the period when the two were still inextricably linked (Luc Brisson, 2004:1). Whereas in the early Greek mythologies and cosmologies the tropes of reproduction were used, and Earth gave birth to Heaven and gods and goddesses lay with mortals, the later natural philosophers theorised the world and cosmos were nurtured into existence by material substances, the roots, or elements of nature. Correspondingly, the shift in the relationships between gods and mortals, and the emergence of the Self was expressed through the landscapes of the Classical Athenian mind.

5.5 Plato and *ge*, *aer*, *hudor* and *pyr*

In Plato's dialogue *Timaeus* the four elemental *archai* - *ge*, *aer*, *hudor*, and *pyr* - together with the six architectural *archai* constitute the world, and, ultimately, the Self, for the Platonic Self cannot exist without them. Plato's godhead, the architect of the universe, designs according to certain principles; however, constrained by the materials at hand (the four elements), the godhead must use reason and ingenuity to forge form and thus meaning. Where no *taxis* had previously existed, or any *eurhythmia* or *symmetria* (expressed by Plato as proportion), the godhead creates *taxis* and contrives a concordance between elements through the *diathesis*. The architecture of the body of the world is thus conceived in the mind of the godhead. Mytho-philosophical in form, content, and meaning, the analogy in Plato's *Timaeus* is no longer one of reproduction or growth, but that of design and construction (Desmond Lee, 1977:8). His godhead is a creator of landscapes.

In another of his dialogues, *The Republic* (360 BC), Plato envisages a different model, one for the mortal architect of the *polis*. Herein, Plato describes a hypothetical, but more

importantly, an ideal *polis*, that exemplifies his thinking about form and *archai*. The rulers of Plato's model *polis* exclude poetry as an accepted means of cultural expression regarding knowledge of history, of people, and of events. The language of the *polis* is the language of the Self; it is didactic. Although Plato employs philosophers as 'reluctant rulers', the *polis* model again reflects the omnipotent architect. Thus, *The Republic* can be read as a site plan for an archetypal architectural form located in an idealised landscape paradigm.

5.6 The Way: as a trope

From Academy to Agora to Acropolis, one road connects them all, at one point becoming The Panathenaic Way. The Way itself is also the orientation of the Self within the world of dwelling. For the Greeks of antiquity, this was as important as the orientation of a temple in the landscape. Therefore, both the Self and the temple are manifested in the physical landscapes of the Greek world but, moreover, in and as the architecture of the mind.

5.7 Summary

As an architectural trope in the ancient Athenian, and more broadly Greek, landscape of the mind, a temple was constructed from *archai*, through which a mytho-philosophical understanding of the world, and of the Self, was explained. As temple is to architecture, idea is to form; as dwelling is to landscape, the Self is to the world. In the minds of the ancient Greek thinkers and writers these were one and the same.

6.0 Seven Constructed Landscapes

6.1 Introduction

Seven constructed landscapes, each a stanza in a topographical poem, reveal the architecture of the idea through the language of the poetic trope. A synopsis of each of the seven constructed landscapes of the Dialogues explains the concepts and terms that are introduced into and, in turn, are explored in the discourse of them and the analysis that follows. The location in which each of the Dialogues is set is critical in orientating the interlocutors along the Panatheniac Way, which officially starts at the Pompeion and officially finishes at the Great Propylaia, at the summit of the Acropolis. Each topographical site and its buildings and monuments, its sanctuaries and altars, are authentic and provide a mental image of the Athenian *polis* as it was in 355 BC. Both poet and philosopher use these elements and forms of the *polis* to exemplify their propositions. The locations of the plane trees (*Platanus orientalis*) in the Agora are not completely certain, nor the cypresses (*Cupressus fastigata*) on the Kolonos Agoraios, but their proximity is premised on archaeological findings and suppositions based on them (Dorothy Thompson, and Ralph Griswald 1963). Aside from the known locations of the twelve sacred *morai* (*Olea* sp.) in the sanctuary outside the Academy and Athena's olive tree (*Olea* sp.) on the Acropolis (Thompson, 1963), all other site plantings mentioned are founded on material pertaining to the ancient natural landscape gleaned from Greek poetry.

The 'directions' in italics in the Dialogues are a means of demonstrating the dynamic and shifting relationships between the poet and the philosopher. Often tropes, they can reveal the development of a speaker's proposition, an ascendancy on the part of each speaker, or even deference to the other's profession. The inclusion of food and wine that is taken at various points along the journey reinforces not only the associations between *theoi*, mortals and landscape but also the temporal aspect of the Dialogues.

As the topic *archai* is both complex and manifold, and can only be explored in depth through the exegesis, the role of the Dialogues, and the interlocutors, is to introduce the ideas and demonstrate the shifting beliefs of the ancient Greeks in relation to them. Through the Dialogues I trace their origins in Greek thought, beginning with Plato's theory of the Forms and working backwards through the Presocratics to the Epic poets. There is a deliberate digression in the Dialogues that facilitates the formal introduction of the subjects of myth and poetry and their role as cultural forms of expression in explicating knowledge of *archai*. Whereas Plato represents the new concept-construct of pure philosophical thought, Euphemios reflects the then traditional, or customary, ancient Greek concept-construct of poetic myth as a means of explaining the world and the shifting relationships between gods and mortals. Pan, naturally enough, represents the realm of the gods and their role in the world of Man.

Each of the historical voices in the Dialogues represents an aspect of *archai*. Notwithstanding that there were myriad voices over many hundreds of years, I have selected those which are most relevant to the accompanying analysis and whose ideas have subsequently, and almost constantly, been represented in the disciplines of western architecture, landscape architecture, and urbanism. Furthermore, material expressions of these ideas have been discovered through archaeological excavations in the landscapes used in the Dialogues.

Most, if not all, constructed landscapes are by their very nature afforded poetic licence. In these Dialogues this is carefully measured and therefore does not unduly compete with, or override, the scholarly research upon which the Dialogues are founded. The Dialogues are set in the season of Spring in 355 BC and each begins with an overview of the location. The main interlocutors are Plato and Euphemios although other voices will also be heard:

Archelaus, Anaxagoras, Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Empedocles, Homer, Hesiod. Pan, an interloper between the constructed landscapes of gods and mortals, is also an interlocutor but heard only by the reader.

6.2 Constructed landscapes: synopsis of the Dialogues

The Pompeion Dialogue: In this first Dialogue the poet, Euphemios, and the philosopher, Plato, introduce the concept of *archai*. Their use of the tropes of the garden and the temple allows for a deeper reading of the concept. Having established the six *archai* that will be the subject of their discourse, the two speakers introduce the themes, including that of the Self in relation to the architectural, and the method that their enquiry will follow in the discourse. Pan reveals that other voices will be heard in later Dialogues. Pan invokes the trope of The Way, which is not only a literal path between two points (as per Lynch) but also the figurative path between belief and reason, between opinion and truth, that is, knowledge. He also summarises the concept of *archai*.

The Plane Tree Dialogue: Upon entering the Agora, Plato is asked by Euphemios to elaborate on the theory of The Forms, whereupon the philosopher introduces the concept of *eidos*. The first voice of the Presocratic philosophers also speaks, and introduces another form of *archai*. Before departing for the Kolonos Agoraios the two interlocutors pause at the Altar of the Twelve Gods. An important datum in Athens, it is also a trope in this Dialogue at which point the philosopher and the poet exchange their views on *ethos*. Pan speaks of *taxis* in the Agora and opposing views held by the philosopher and the poet regarding this and *archai*.

The Kolonos Agoraios Dialogue: This Dialogue opens with Euphemios espousing his views of the fourfold through analogy. In reply, Plato extends his theory of Forms to

embrace the concept of Being which the poet challenges by using elements of the immediate landscape to present his argument about Becoming. The voice of Anaxagoras speaks of his theory on *archai*. Pan reminds the reader about *diathesis* and then explains that the philosopher and poet will be discussing the ideas of the Presocratics in the next Dialogue.

The Water Clock Dialogue: That the poet and the philosopher pause here and take refreshments, reminds the reader that The Dialogues take place in not only a topographical landscape but also a temporal one. They are suddenly interrupted by six more Presocratics voices, emphasising (in the discourse), their importance as the earliest Greek philosophers to theorise about *archai*. Plato uses the analogy of housing to demonstrate the necessity of integrity in both philosophical thought and poetic language. Using the tropes employed by the Presocratics, Pan concludes the Dialogue by recapitulating their collective worldview and its associated *eurhthymia*.

The Theatre of Dionysos Dialogue: Although not located along the Panathenaic Way, the detour to the Theatre of Dionysos offers the opportunity for the subjects of myth and poetry to be formally admitted into the discourse. Euphemios responds first to Plato's words from the previous Dialogue regarding the housing analogy through the trope of dwelling. He then begins his oration on poetry as an element of Athenian education but is interrupted by the voice of the epic poet, Homer. Thereafter, the poet and philosopher debate the role of myth and poetry as a medium for education. Pan's final words reinforce *thematismos* and the use of tropes throughout the Dialogues and in the analysis that constitute this thesis.

The Eleusinion in the City Dialogue: In the penultimate Dialogue the poet is afforded another opportunity to elaborate on the fourfold and on *archai*. Euphemios uses this occasion to further explicate the trope of the garden. The trope of reproduction, a means of explaining the origin and coming into being of things, is introduced through the seeds of the poppy. The importance of lineage in the Athenian psyche is also introduced. After the philosopher and the poet leave the sanctuary, Pan offers an ‘overview’ of the discourse between them (to this point) which reveals the literal and figurative route of The Way in the collective constructed landscapes that are the seven Dialogues. He speaks, too, of *oikonomia*.

The Acropolis Summit Dialogue: After the final exchange between philosopher and poet, Plato likens Euphemios’ words in the Dialogues to ‘Athena’s gift’, revealing the goddess is not only affiliated with the olive, but also with wisdom. The reader then learns that the name, Euphemios, is a trope (it literally means ‘to speak well’). Plato’s departing remark is also a trope. Pan has one final conundrum for the reader that encapsulates the path of poet and philosopher alike. Pan speaks of *symmetria* in relation to the tropes of the tree and the temple reinforcing the concept-construct of dwelling and cultivation as The Way to ‘see’ that the relationship between the architectural and the Self is, fundamentally, based on *ethos* and *archai* and that these are Greek ideas (and which, therefore, precede the Vitruvian associations between ‘first principles’ and ‘the architectural’).

7.0 Pan, Arcady and Gê

7.1 Introduction

Of the myriad Greek *theoi* the ancient Athenians had long venerated, the god Pan was only recognised as a protector of Athens after they had beaten the Persians in the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC. Thereafter the cult of Pan was established, and a sanctuary and cave dedicated to him on the northern slope of the Acropolis above the Panathenaic Way. However, his original domain lies in the landscapes of Arcadia, or, as the Greeks called it, Arcady. He was not the only god venerated there; the “mother of all gods” (Camp, 2003:16), Gê, had, since very ancient times, been worshipped in the wild Arcadian landscapes. As a physical construct in the geography of the Peloponnese, Arcady was extremely difficult to access in antiquity. As a literary concept, however, Arcady came to be accessed through poetry. Thus, the goddess Gê was given manifestation through poetic form.

7.2 A Constructed Landscape of ideas and words.

The garden is the becoming of form, elements and *archai*. It is the becoming of the poetic Self. As a construction of the mind, the garden is the interior landscape in which the poet-as-gardener dwells. It is the *topos* of the oldest gardener, Gê (also known as Gaea) or Earth Mother, and therein dwells her *logos*. The venerable goddess wore a green *peplos*, her epithet was *Protogenus* (first born) and, from her, the first of the ancient Greek *theoi* came into being, born from her ‘earthy flesh’. Gê had many sanctuaries throughout both Arcady and Attica. In Athens, there were sanctuaries, and shrines on the slopes of the Acropolis, and a temple and sanctuary was created near the southwest end of the Agora to (John McK Camp, 2003:16) to worship her in the *polis* as well as in the broader Greek environment. The constructed landscapes of the ancient Greeks thus united the *chora* and

asty of the Athenian *polis* through Arcady and Gê, through their rural gardeners and their urbane philosophers. Pan is the interloper between both worlds. According to Peter Marinelli

Arcadia is primarily the paradise of poetry. It is the middle country of the imagination, halfway between a past perfection, a place of Becoming rather than Being, where an individual's potencies for the arts of life and love and poetry are explored and tested. It points two ways therefore, backward into the past and forward into a possible future (1971:37).

Arcady is a landscape of language, articulated through rhythm, pattern, versification, rhyme, metre, and alliteration wherein the garden is made manifest through the tropes of greening and nurturing, dwelling and cultivation. If one thinks of the concept of Arcady as a constructed landscape, an idea made manifest through poetic imagery, one can begin to understand the ancient connections between Man and Nature through the language of the landscape. Pan's landscape of Arcady is such a *topos*. The constructed landscapes of the Greeks of antiquity offer more than mytho-philosophical views of the earth and the cosmos. Although theirs was a world of mortals and gods, of orientation and navigation, for the Greeks *geographia* was also a form of way-finding in conceptual worlds. In Arcady, then, is the Way. Myth, and, subsequently, philosophy, offered orientation through *geographia*, through writing about earth in its myriad forms.

The following *poiēma* forms part of my early research. It is included not as an afterword, as a boundary of the known landscape, but as a gateway into future constructed landscapes. It is an informal nod to the Athenians and the Arcadians who both claimed to be autochthonous, literally, born of the soil (Martin Nilsson, 1986:14), that is, born of Gê's 'fleshy earth'. It is also a gesture to Pan without whom I have would not have breached the *paradeisos* and discovered the constructed landscapes beyond.

7.3

The Gardener's Poem

Paradeisos, a walled garden
Wherein grows the fig.
Ever fruiting.
Wherein grows the lily.
Ever flowering.
Wherein grows the sweetest grass.
Evergreen.
Walled against wilderness.
And decay.

Arcady, landscape of language
Of wildflowers and cultivated tropes
Dwelling of poet and Pan,
Of the first gardener.
Her vision is green.
The becoming of lightness,
Nurtured in darkness,
Of a corporeal earth.

Arcady violates *paradeisos*.
Wilderness penetrates.
Seeds itself everywhere. Weeds defile grasses.
Lilies rot.
Skies darken. Clouds gather.
Cold winds blow and the flesh of the fig,
Honey-sweet,
Splits and releases its seed.
Bees pollinate lilies. Bees pollinate the queen and die.

Sky, gravid, humid,
Bears down upon the landscape.
The gardener opens the earth,
And liberates the darkness
Deep within.
Digs with her hands and
Exposes seasons past.
Time stratified.

The gardener buries her seeds.
The sky opens. Falls upon her. Soaking soil.
Life-giving water.
Lightness and darkness are consummate, one.
Humus. Detritus of the dead and dying
Generates life. Nourishes the garden.
Generational change begins.
Slowly.

In darkness lilies, dormant,
Now wake. Now seek light.
From the darkness comes life.

8.0 The Dialogues

8.1 The Pompeion Dialogue

Location: Of the thirteen gateways in the Themistoclean wall encircling the Athenian urban *polis*, the two most significant are located in the district of the Kerameikos. Here, two ancient roads enter the city-proper: one from Delphi via Eleusis, through the Sacred Gate, the other from the Academy via the Demosian Sema, through the Thriasian Gate. Between the two entry points is the ceremonial and civic complex of the Pompeion. Frescoes adorn the interiors, and *klines* are arranged along the *stoa* walls. A bronze statue of Socrates stands in the forecourt, which is also the start of the Panathenaic Way. Plato has travelled from the Academy, and Euphemios from his urban *deme* of Melite, via the Street of the Tombs which branches off the Sacred Way. Both take a break from their journey at the Pompeion. In the corner of the north *stoa* Pan is lounging on a *kline* and musing to himself.

Pan: *Looks out towards the statue and begins to recite his poetic conundrum.*

If boundary is the threshold of openness

Of what is yet undisclosed and therefore

Embraces all things

And dwelling and cultivation are

The Way

Of the architectural

And of the Self

Does not *logos* reveal

Wherein the garden of the temple

Are nurtured the seeds of first principles?

Hears Plato and the poet enter the stoa and falls silent.

Plato: *Sits and lays his staff by his side.* So, Euphemios, you are a poet. Are you known here in Athens?

Euphemios: No, I have not yet competed in a Dionysia. *Produces figs, wine, and cups from a leather pouch.* However, I do practise my recitations whilst tending my garden.

Plato: Tell me of your garden. What do you grow in it?

Euphemios: The vine, the fig, and the olive, though I cultivate much more. Though once impoverished, after much work, the garden is now green and beginning to flourish. *Places figs and wine on a side table.* Do you also have a garden?

Plato: I do. For many years now I have been cultivating Athena's gift. *He smiles.* Many of the trees are old, however, and their yield is decreasing. The younger ones are yet to bear fruit but they grow well and promise much. Although I still work the ground, these days my preference is to relax in my garden and converse. *He points to the table next to him.* And eat figs and drink wine. I thank you for your kindness.

Euphemios: I am happy to share. So, you are going to the Acropolis. I, too, am going there. Perhaps we can walk together.

Plato: I would enjoy the company. We can speak more of your garden and of mine.

Euphemios: *Laughing at Plato's trope.* It is good to cultivate the garden, as it is to cultivate the mind.

Plato: Indeed it is.

Euphemios: For therein is the temple, the dwelling of the Self.

Plato: *Smiles knowingly.* Ah, you speak of *archai*, first principles, a most interesting, if not new, concept-construct of Greek thought.

Euphemios: There have been a number of Greeks who have spoken of *archai*, the earliest philosophers who spoke of the elements, and those even before them who spoke of the origins of gods and mortals. Many have written about their theories on this topic and others have written about these men's words.

Plato: *Seriously.* Bear in mind, however, those whose voices you cannot substantiate, and those who you know to be disavowed by others, unless you are prepared to defend them in their absence.

Euphemios: That's good advice. I haven't heard your own theory and would very much like to hear your views.

Plato: Very well. I have a theory based on the concept-construct of Forms. However, before entering into discourse about this theory, we must first establish what an *archē* is.

Euphemios: I defer to your status on this, Plato.

Plato: *Bows head in appreciation.* An *archē* is an entity that which in and of itself is the origin of all else, from cosmos to world, from *polis* to the Self.

Euphemios: I concur, that is the true meaning of *archē*.

Plato: Although there are numerous *archai*, for the purposes of our discourse today, I would like to limit the number to six. I will use elements of the *polis* to exemplify these as we encounter them on our way to the Acropolis.

Euphemios: It is wise to have a demonstrable way of explicating your theory. What are these six *archai*, then?

Plato: They are *taxis*, *diathesis*, *eurhythmia*, *oikonomia*, *thematismos* and *symmetria*. Are you familiar with these terms?

Euphemios: Of course, I know of their convention in Greek architecture.

Plato: Then I will now begin to speak of the Forms in relation to *archai*. A single godhead has created archetypal Forms as models for all other things. For reasons that will become obvious shortly I shall henceforth refer to the godhead as the architect. The six *archai* I have just before named, guide the work of the architect in constructing the Forms. I will briefly explain the property of each. *Taxis* is the constitution of an ideal Form constructed by the architect and *diathesis* is the clear articulation of all elements within a Form. *Eurhythmia*, is the congruent aspect of Form when constructed according to the *archai* of

the architect *and oikonomia* is the deliberate management by the architect of all elements that constitute a Form. *Thematismos* is the propriety of the architect, and finally, *symmetria* is the commensurate relationships between all elements within a Form. Of course, the ideal exemplar of the architect is the temple which is the architectural made manifest and through it the actualisation of the Self.

Euphemios: *Very surprised.* I can readily comprehend the metaphor of the architect, but a single godhead that is responsible for all elements of all form?

Plato: Then tell me your theory of *archai*.

Euphemios: It is not so much a theory as an *ethos*. To frame my reply I will use the same six *archai* as you have done, however, I will describe them in relation to the fourfold and the landscape. First, there is *taxis*, which is the disposition the elements of the fourfold: of gods and mortals, dwelling and cultivation. Then *diathesis*, which is the *logos* expressed within the fourfold. Next there is *eurhythmia*, the concordant composition of the fourfold, and then *oikonomia*, and that is the practice of the gardener. *Thematismos* is the bond of the fourfold, and finally there is *symmetria*, which is the measure of accord between fourfold and landscape.

Plato: *Musing.* Together with *archai*, Forms, the architectural, and the Self, there is now the fourfold, landscape and *ethos*. We have before us a very complex set of inter-relationships.

Euphemios: *Laughs.* And tropes. As dwelling is to temple and cultivation is to garden, so too are gods to mortals and form to *archai*.

Plato: *Seriously.* If we are to pursue *archai* as our topic of discourse we will have to do so with the intellectual integrity it deserves. This *ethos* I learned from my friend and mentor, Socrates. *Raises his cup to the statue and drinks.*

Euphemios: As you are the philosopher, and I am not, I ask that you choose the most appropriate means of enquiry for our discourse.

Plato: I suggest a simple question and answer approach. In this manner, we can learn more of our own, and of each other's propositions regarding *archai*.

Euphemios: *Puts empty cups and wine into pouch.* I am very interested to know more about your views – and to present mine.

Plato: I look forward to hearing more of your ideas. We still have quite a distance to travel, so let's leave the Pompeion and continue on our way. *With the aid of his staff, he rises and they leave the Pompeion to begin their journey along the Panatheniac Way.*

Pan: *Rises from the kline, claps his hands together and laughs out loud.* There is much fun to be had on this journey if only the voices of the ancients could be heard for they too have had some influence on our philosopher. They speak of first principles, of *archai*, so I will invoke them in due course so that he may contest his point of view against their propositions. The poet must also listen and answer carefully, for there are many things to consider in this dialectic. This will be most interesting. There are many possible paths to choose but there is only one Way. *Pipes to mouth, he turns and exits the Pompeion.*

8.2 The Plane Tree Dialogue

Location: The Panathenaic Way enters the Agora from the northwest corner at a junction where several other intra-*polis* roads converge. *Horoï* demarcate the precinct boundaries of the Agora. On the north edge of the Agora is the Stoa Poikile, behind which runs the aqueduct to the Academy, and the Street of the Herms. Enclosing the northwest edge is the Stoa Basileios, and the Stoa Eleutherios and the *eschara*. Nearby is the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Today the *hippeis* is training on the Panathenaic Way between the northwest and southeast corners. The philosopher and the poet seek the shade of a plane tree (*Platanus orientalis*) between the Stoas Basileios and Zeus Eleutheria, and the altar. Pan stretches out in the branches of the tree canopy, listening.

Euphemios: You intimated earlier about the *polis* in relation to *archai*. Will you elaborate so that I might better understand your theory?

Plato: Yes, of course. *Archai* exist not as tangible, but as abstracted, Forms. To explain this I will use the concept-construct of *eidos*, a term I employ to connote both form *and* idea. The *polis* is more than an aggregation of temples and treasuries, government and civic buildings around a central public space. The architect designs it, ideally, as a system of integrated elements. Furthermore, each element must work in harmony otherwise the *ethos* of the *polis* will be compromised. Equally, the *polis* is not simply the collective citizenship; it is also the embodiment of the Self. Thus, like the temple, the *polis*, and the Self are governed by *taxis*, *diathesis*, *eurhythmia*, *oikonomia*, *themtismos*, and *symmetria*.

Euphemios: *Puzzled*. I am familiar with the term *eidos*, however, not as you employ it. I understand it to refer to vision, that is, 'to see'.

Plato: In a sense it does but it is far more complex than merely comprehending a visual image. This concept-construct will become clearer as we continue our discourse into the origins of *archai*, of the world, the *polis* and the Self. *The leaves of the plane tree begin to rustle and the warm Spring breeze quickly becomes chilly and then subsides altogether. A voice whispers from within the canopy and the poet and the philosopher strain to listen.*

Archelaus: I, Archelaus, teacher of Socrates, wish to make known the origin of Man and the world. Through the *archē* of motion, the earth came into being through the mixing of hot and cold, and water, which, when in the middle of the two, became warm and burned and in turn became air and earth. The warm air rose and became the heavenly bodies. From the mud of the earth came the animals and Man who procreated and bore the first offspring. Man, though, was distinguished from lower animals by a higher mental acuity, and thus developed skills, laws and the *polis*.

Euphemios: He speaks of the *polis* as a construction of Man, not of the architect.

Plato: Archelaus was the last of the natural philosophers. His theories were grounded in the world of form, not of higher Forms. Regarding the concept of motion I will tell, briefly,

how the architect used this in relation to the construction of the cosmos and by extension, the *polis*.

Euphemios: I am eager to hear.

Plato: Very well. Nothing moves without cause. The Soul, that is, the Mind of the architect, is the primary cause of all that moves. In constructing the cosmos, the architect drew together the disparate elements of fire, water, earth and air until they formed a sphere that was then set to move in a uniform circular motion in perpetuity. This was a perfect Form. The Form for the *polis* was similarly constructed insofar as both plans followed the architect's six *archai* thus ensuring an ideal constitution. This is the singular role of *archai* in the work of the architect.

Euphemios: *Dismayed.* A singular godhead, a singular vision, a singular role for *archai*, this is at odds with the enduring *ethos* of the fourfold and the language of the landscape.

Plato: We can continue this line of enquiry as we go but as the *hippeis* is, at present, training on our path we should make our way to the Kolonos Agoraios. From there we will be afforded a better view of all that is before us.

Euphemios: First allow me to make an offering to the gods for presiding over a safe journey thus far. From the Altar of the Twelve Gods are measured all distances - from Delphi and from Marathon, even from the Academy. From all over Attica and the Greek world, upon arrival in the centre of Athens, travellers offer thanks to them for presiding over a safe journey.

Plato: *Winks at poet.* Yet the measure of Man's journeying is more than in *stades*. The measure of Man is *ethos*. Like the architect's construction of the temple employing *archai*, so too, *ethos* is constructed.

Euphemios: *Shakes head.* I disagree. *Ethos* is not constructed but is cultivated. It is nurtured in the landscapes of the fourfold, in the garden of *archai*.

Plato: *He smiles.* We will see. *After making an offering at the altar, the poet and philosopher head in the direction of the Kolonos Agoraios.*

Pan: *He lowers himself from the branches of the plane tree and swings to the ground. We will see indeed. Such oppositions on divine taxis and mortal law will, I expect, continue throughout this discourse. Let us follow our interlocutors and listen further to the Dialogues. He begins to pipe a tune, and then follows Plato and the poet at a measured distance.*

8.3 The Kolonos Agoraios Dialogue

Location: The top of the Kolonos Agoraios, a hill bounding the western edge of the Agora is reached by a number of paths, one of which begins at the top of the rock-cut steps known as the Synedrion. Clumps of wild fennel (*Ferula communis*) grow on either side of the steps. From the plateau one can look east across the Agora, past the district of The Eleusinion In The City, to the Illissos River and the *stadion* beyond. The poet and the philosopher have sought shade near the cypress (*Cupressus fastigiata*) grove in the *temenos*. Pan pretends to be part of the Hephaisteion's eastern frieze that depicts the labours of Heracles.

Plato: I would very much like to hear your thoughts on the fourfold in relation to *archai*.

Euphemios: *Points first to the grove of trees and then to the temple columns.* I will begin by demonstrating a tangible relationship between two forms, the form of the temple and the form of these tree trunks. The columns of the temple are marble metaphors for the tree trunks here in the grove. The openness of the colonnade with its *cella*, wherein dwells the god Hephaistos and the goddess Athena, is an expression of the relationship between gods and mortals who share common tropes of language, that of dwelling and cultivation. The temple itself is a trope of the *logos* of the fourfold. Moreover, the *logos* itself is an expressive form of *archai*. *He smiles at Plato.*

Plato: *Shakes his head.* The temple of Hephaistos is the physical expression of a higher intangible Form. It is an expression of the concept of *eidos* of which I spoke earlier. It and

all the other temples you can see from here have been constructed according to the *archai* of the architect. This is the Being of *eidos*. *In the cypress grove the light is suffused; darkness and lightness intermingle. A voice speaks.*

Anaxagoras: I am Anaxagoras, the first Athenian philosopher. I propose that thought is the *archē* of all things. It is independent and limitless, and is responsible for the generation and revolution of the world from an indefinite mass. As well, all elements are in all things, in greater or smaller forms, the latter being so small as to be unseen. It is thought that sees the unseeable and articulates its form. *The voice becomes silent.*

Plato: What he speaks of resides in the temple of the Mind although I speak of it as *eidos*. Yet he does not use thought well. I have read his book on the elements and thought in relation to *archai*, and was disappointed that he did not grasp the truth of the subject, especially in regard to evolution, and motion.

Euphemios: *Looks around the temenos' inner landscape.* I disagree with you and will use this garden to explain my point. The stone-walled *temenos* has many times been rebuilt, the ancient well has now been replaced with a cistern, and vines have been trained up these old trees. Many years ago the sacred altars were built from wood but have been replaced by marble ones. This landscape is always evolving, through the hand of the priests and because of the fourfold. Furthermore, the elements and forms of this garden are revolving in a cycle; that is, some, or other, force is moving them. So, too, the broader landscape. It is not Being but always Becoming. *Points to Agora and beyond.*

Plato: *Strokes his beard, somewhat bemused and somewhat impressed by his young interlocutor's audacity.* Being and Becoming. This has long been a topic of Greek thought beginning with the early philosophers who sought to have knowledge of these ideas in relation to *archai*, some two hundred and fifty years before our time.

Eupehemia: *Looks past Plato.* I can see the priests of the temple are coming to do their duties. We should go back down to the Agora again and continue our dialogue and eat. I

have food enough for two. *Gestures to the path leading to the Synedrion steps and takes the old philosopher's arm as he descends.*

Pan: Our poet and philosopher are now contemplating *diathesis* in relation to *eidos* but will they 'see' how the earlier Presocratics have composed their own world forms? *Pan springs lithely from the temple frieze to the column shaft, slides down, and then, laughing, disappears into the undergrowth of the grove.*

8.4 The Water Clock Dialogue

Location: In the southwest corner of the Agora is the Old Bouleuterion as well as the New Bouleuterion, together with the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods. The Tholos is adjacent to them. Opposite the Tholos is the statue group of the Eponymous Heroes. Located near the Street of the Marble Workers, and the House and Workshop of Simon the Shoemaker is the State Prison where Socrates was executed. In this vicinity are also the Crossroads Shrine and the Water Clock. Nearby are planted a number of willows (*Salix viminalis*). Plato and Euphemios have paused to take refreshments near the clock. Pan has secreted himself in a gap between two stone courses.

Euphemios: *Opening leather pouch.* We have time to pause on our journey. Would you care for some bread and wine?

Plato: Thank you. But we must not be here too long as the sun is high overhead. *The philosopher is about to continue when, from deep within the reservoir of the water clock, can be heard a sudden burbling of water, then dissonant utterances and, afterward, babbling voices. Finally one speaks, followed by the others, each in turn.*

Thales: I am Thales and wish to tell of my theory about the origin of all things. An element, *hudor*, is the origin of the world, and also the origin of the heavens, and the becoming of things. *Ge* rests upon *hudor*. It receives its nourishment from this water and so too all things upon the earth. Without water nothing thrives but shrivels and ceases to be.

Anaximander: I have to disagree with my teacher. Water is not the origin of all things. Instead, from the *archē*, that I have named *apeiron*, every element and every form comes into existence. *Apeiron* is eternal and ageless and within it are all the heavens and their worlds. What it generates, it destroys and then renews. That is the law of becoming.

Anaximenes: I put it you that it is air that is the *archē*. All that comes into being does so from *aer* and, in time, becomes *aer* again. *Aer* is an infinite, moving element, and the heavenly bodies came into being because of it and, so too, the *theoi*.

Heraclitus: No, Anaximenes you are wrong. *Pyr* is the *archē* and all things come into being through *pyr* and are extinguished by it. Moreover, there exists the eternal world and the perishable world, the everlasting flame, and also the candle. As well, there are the many that oppose the many and yet are reconciled through conflagration of the many.

Parmenides: When you, Heraclitus, speak of elements, you speak in obfuscating tropes. Yours is mere opinion, not a truth arrived at by divination and inquiry. I, Parmenides, have enquired into this subject and found that there is only the One, not the many as you would have it. The One is constant, immutable. As for *hudos*, *ge*, *aer* and *pyr*, they, and all else, exist only through The One. Moreover, they are opposites and will always remain so. There is no conflagration, no reconciliation. This is the law of the One and its Being.

Empedocles: Now I will tell of my theory of the One, of *archai* – Love and Strife – and of the roots. The One *is* and Love and Strife both *are* and *are not*. An endless cosmic cycle, the roots, - *ge*, *hudos*, *aer*, and *pyr* - bind and form the Sphere through which the creation of the cosmos begins. Alternatively, when Strife damages the roots, the Sphere and its influence disintegrate. Parmenides, while I agree about the One, I refute your position about *stasis*. *The voices become utterances again and then are drowned out by the water in the reservoir.*

Euphemios: *Looks directly at the philosopher.* Well, Plato, what do you make of those postulations? They are further exemplars of *archai*. Do they all not carry some weight with you?

Plato: *He strokes his beard while considering how best to respond to the poet's questions.*

Indeed, what do I make of these propositions on *archai*? For the earliest natural philosophers' thoughts I have little regard. Empedocles' ideas are interesting though not very satisfactory. I admit that the respective arguments of Heraclitus and Parmenides regarding the many and the One are intriguing and do have some merit.

Euphemios: *Puzzled.* But who is right? Which theory holds true?

Plato: To explain this, I will use the construction of these workers' houses in relation to the temple constructed by the architect and the singular role of *archai*. *Pointing to the houses being built in the Street of the Marble Workers.* Like the architect's, the *ethos* of the builder must be honest in its construction, and the joinery clearly articulated in the roofing structure of those houses, for much weight comes to bear upon it.

Euphemios: *Smiles mischievously.* And if the *ethos* cannot weather a storm the roof of both temple and house collapses, and the joinery is then exposed.

Plato: *Ignoring the clever trope, he continues.* Exactly. Each of these philosophies has been found wanting in one way, or another, and has collapsed.

Euphemios: Then, the *ethos* of both the *polis* and the Self are also reflections of the *ethos* of the architect. And this is the single godhead you spoke of at the Pompeion?

Plato: Yes, this is the One.

Euphemios: *Bemused.* This is indeed food for thought. *Finishes bread and water.* I will have to consider this awhile before responding.

Plato: Well then, let us take a brief detour and visit the Theatre of Dionysos. There you can speak your thoughts on poetry and I will be your audience. As well, it will be good practice for the Dionysia. What do you say?

Euphemios: *Cheerfully.* I will use the opportunity well.

Pan: *Climbing out from the reservoir of the Water Clock.* We have heard the collective voices of some of our earliest philosophers who speak of the elements and their *eurhythmia*.

Does not this harmonious relationship also speak of the Self in relation to the architectural through *poeisis*? We must continue to the Theatre and listen to the poet's words. *He shakes his head to clear his ears of water and then saunters after the poet and the philosopher.*

8.5 The Theatre of Dionysos Dialogue

Location: Formed initially from a natural bowl in the south slope of the Acropolis, the Theatre of Dionysos is an important cultural element of the Athenian *polis*. It is here, in annual competitions, which the citizens of Athens come to hear the latest plays performed, and the oldest poems recited. Statuary adorns the adjacent sanctuary wherein the pine trees (*Pinus pinea*) and the grapevine (*Vitus vitifera*) grow intertwined near the temple and shrine of Dionysos, the god of wine. The amphitheatre is empty of patrons at this time of day so the philosopher occupies one of the marble thrones in the front row, and, on the stage, the poet assumes the role of an actor. Pan listens from within the wings of the *skenai*.

Euphemios: *Places a cup of wine at the foot of the statue on the parapet wall.* I will begin by invoking the Muses, and ask that Dionysos will accept my offering of libations and my thoughts on poetry. First, however, I would like to address your earlier trope of housing.

Plato: *Gestures to the poet.* Go ahead, I am listening.

Euphemios: I am a poet and a gardener. I cultivate words as I cultivate the vine. The landscape of language finds form through my garden of ideas. Herein, the *archai* and the fourfold are housed. To be housed is to be accommodated, to have shelter, to be given sanctuary. This is the housing of a cultivated landscape. Moreover, a cultivated landscape is more than a collection of buildings and its citizens; it is where dwelling is given poetic form.

Plato: Well said. Go on.

Euphemios: *Gestures to the theatre precinct.* As you well know, recitation of the works of the ancients is part of our education. We have all learned by heart their words.

Plato: *Rolls his eyes.* Indeed we all have!

Euphemios: In their words are the roots of our cultural landscape. *The poet is about to continue when a deep voice from within the adjacent sanctuary begins to speak. Euphemios moves to the side of the stage.*

Homer: Within the armoury of language the words of the poet

Are broader than the sword – and more eloquent

In their defence of epic deeds of heroes

And of battles lost and won.

The valour of such men is recounted

As they sleep eternal in Elysium.

Impassioned verse and Lyric Ode of

Events before our time

Of Nature, gods and mortals

Their odyssey beyond our realm

Courageous feats we hold in memory,

Of the ancients and their history.

The voice begins to weaken, becomes distant and is carried aloft on the Spring breeze. Pan blows a kiss and offers up silent applause towards the sanctuary.

Euphemios: *Resumes his position in the centre of the stage and extends an arm to acknowledge the performance.* It is from the father of Greek poetry that we learn of our ancestors' battles and it is from him that we can imagine the glory of the ancients and the landscape of their heroic deeds. Homer's poetic tropes allow the imagination to see the gardens of kings, and the resting place of the immortals. They allow us to wander in those landscapes long after they have become lost to us. Homer uses the landscape of language to invite us to dwell

within these gardens, to become part of the landscape itself. What have you to say about this?

Plato: *Waves his hand dismissively.* Homer composed his poems more than four hundred years after the wars with Troy. How could they possibly be first-hand accounts of battle? They cannot be presented as facts or truths, as knowledge. How could Homer even claim to know details of such events, or of such gardens of kings? No, this is only hearsay creatively disguised as history.

Euphemios: *Frustrated.* Surely you would agree that accounts must be kept to record the events of history and that the evocative style of the orator engages the listener and transports the mind to far away places and times, and that this is not harmful but to be encouraged in the imagination?

Plato: *Sternly.* The ancient poets and their words have much to answer for. They capture the minds of men with fantastic tales as a general would capture an enemy with cunning and deception.

Euphemios: *More frustrated.* Is a poem not as well structured as a philosophic argument? Do you also discount Aeschylus and Sophocles, and also Euripides and Aristophanes? Are the words of a poet not well considered, so as to be pleasing not only to the ear but also to the intellect?

Plato: *Soothingly.* I do enjoy poetry and have even tried my hand at it, but for pleasure not for explicating a philosophy. The more recent poets have much that is interesting to say about the *polis* but it is not philosophy. The poetry of the ancients is grounded in myth and therefore just myth-leading. *He laughs at his own pun and makes the poet smile.*

Euphemios: Surely a poet can be philosophical?

Plato: *Firmly.* Poetry should not be philosophical and philosophy should not be poetic.

Euphemios: *Looks skyward.* I would like to continue this but as the sun is to the west of us now we should resolve to finish our journey. Instead of turning back on this path we should

follow it and re-join the Panathenaic Way on the other side of the Acropolis. From there we can make our ascent after visiting the precinct of the Eleusinion in the City. *Dismounts from the stage and walks over to Plato who rises slowly to his feet. Together they walk silently in the direction of the Street of the Tripods.*

Pan: *Appears from within the wings of the skena.* The Greek poet is still a teacher of *oikonomia*, In a few carefully chosen words our poet has quite engaged our philosopher. Language is indeed the poet's tool as it is the philosopher's. Each cultivates a form of language yet which will yield? There is a little trope for you to ponder. *He bows to an imaginary audience and then pipes a tune as he exits the theatre.*

8.6 The Eleusinion in the City Dialogue

Location: At the southeast end of the Agora, adjacent to the Panathenaic Way is the precinct of the Eleusinion in the City, which is dedicated to Demeter and her daughter, Kore, and to the Mysteries. Within the walled *temenos* are small temples and shrines, altars, and a statue of Triptolemos. In a sanctuary, on an elevated terrace, is the great temple of Demeter. Pan has secreted himself in the marble folds of the great goddess's *chiton*. Plato and Euphemios wander among the fig (*Ficus carica*) and pomegranate (*Punica granatum*) trees, the white lilies (*Lilium* sp.) and red poppies (*Papaver rhoeas*).

Plato: Will you expand on the garden and the fourfold in relation to *archai*?

Euphemios: Certainly. As the *polis* is a microcosm of the cosmos, so too is the garden. A garden is not simply the extension of the household tended by the family where are grown legumes and herbs, nor the sanctuaries administered by the holy attendants, nor the fields of grain, but also the forests and mountains, the valleys and rivers, for these are the earthly gardens of the *theoi*. When I speak of the garden, it is a trope for the greater

landscape. As well, the elements of the garden - *ge*, *aer*, *hudor* and *pyr* - are all necessary and the seeds of garden and gardener alike depend on them for viability.

Plato: And the fourfold?

Euphemios: *With both arms, gestures to the broader Athenian landscape.* Each landscape has its own elements and form, its own rhythm, its own pattern language. Within the garden there is a shared dwelling between gods and mortals through cultivation. This is the *ethos* of the gardener for whom the garden is the temple not only of the *theoi* but also of the Self. The epic poets spoke of this in their works wherein the concept—construct of the fourfold is exalted. *Before the poet can continue there is a brief sun-shower. Plato seeks shelter in the colonnade of the temple while the poet remains in the sanctuary. A clear voice can be heard from the temple cella.*

Hesiod: Between the Heavens and Hades, is Man

To whom the Gods gave a field, uncultivated
And to Man they said, listen
To wise counsel, but think also for yourself.
Work not against, but with, Nature
For it will please the Gods,
Among them, Demeter,
Who will reward well those who observe
The Songs of the Seasons.

The voice is then gone.

Euphemios: Ah, the words of Hesiod. He speaks of the fourfold and the cultivation of Man.

Plato: He also speaks of being counselled by the wise —

Euphemios: *Interjecting.* And thinking for one's self!

Plato: *He re-joins the poet in the sanctuary.* Are there any philosophers in your family?

Euphemios: No, we have long been of the land. My family is neither very rich nor very important, though some relatives boast that we do have an ancient heredity on my mother's side.

Plato: *Politely.* May I ask who this ancestor is?

Euphemios: It is said that my family has its roots in the gardens of King Cecrops. I am journeying today to the Sacred Rock to see his tomb. Revered as a just king, he was the first to make political divisions in the Attic landscape and to introduce the civic institution of marriage. He also banned blood sacrifices to Zeus, and replaced them with offerings of small cakes. The great goddess herself, Athena, asked that Cecrops bear witness to the planting of the first olive tree. This I also want to see today as it still thrives.

Plato: *Nodding.* I am aware of this account. There grow in the sanctuary by the Academy, twelve trees, called the sacred *moriai*, which have grown from scions from the tree on the Acropolis.

Euphemios: *Kneels to look more closely at a red poppy that is not quite open.* Although my ancestor was the son of *theoi* and therefore divine, he was also *autochthonous*, of the garden. He asked of the Athenians that they venerate the garden of the *theoi* and, in return, they were afforded divine patronage and protection. Through veneration, that is dwelling and cultivation, the continuance of the fourfold is assured, and similarly, this flower. *Gently caresses the poppy.* Every Spring it and many others have their seed carried by wind to landscapes beyond these sanctuary walls. There, they fall to the ground, and take root and grow, and through the fourfold continue to survive and flourish.

Plato: Are you ready, then, to continue to the summit of the Sacred Rock?

Euphemios: *Enthusiastically.* Yes, I am. *Looks up at the Acropolis while exiting The Eleusinion in the City with the philosopher.*

Pan: *Emerges from within the stone folds of Demeter's chiton.* Ah, the summit. From there one can clearly see The Way in the landscape below. In it the *thematismos* of the ancients is

most readily observed. But how will our interlocutors 'see' this view? *He winks and slips out of the temple and follows the Panathenaic Way up the north slope of the Acropolis.*

8.7 The Acropolis Summit Dialogue

Location: Beyond the Great Propylaia lies what was once the ancient citadel of the Sacred Rock. Many temples, sanctuaries, statuary and monuments, altars and shrines, occupy the open space of the Acropolis. From the edge of the various terraces bounded by the rebuilt ancient Mycenaean walls there are panoramic views of the surrounding mountain ranges and the Attic plain, beyond which is the sea. Dwarfed by the presence of the Periclean Parthenon is the temple complex known as the Erectheion. In the ancient Sanctuary of the Pandrosian, Athena's gift to the people, the olive (*Olea europaea*) still grows. Pan sits, cross-legged, in the forked trunk of the tree. Nearby are the temple of Athena and her Altar. The philosopher and the poet stand between the ancient olive tree and the Old Temple.

Plato: *Clasping his hands, he speaks slowly and assuredly.* Our journey tracing the origins of *archai* in Greek thought has come to an end. We began with the most recent Greek thinking and have followed the voices back to the epic poets. *He looks out to the distant mountain ranges before continuing.* Throughout our dialogues we have debated what constitutes the nature of *archai*. I have spoken of the architect, proposed the concept-construct of the Forms and used the exemplars of the temple, the *polis*, and the house, to explicate my present theory. Through each of them, I have established the relationships between form and higher Forms. This I have explained through *eidos* and have demonstrated how the construction of the temple, *polis* and house are expressions of the *ethos* of the architect. With the exception of Aristotle, most of my young students would have struggled with these concept-constructs along the way.

Euphemios: These dialogues have revealed that *ge*, *aer*, *hudor* and *pyr* have been constant *archai* alongside the six *archai* we have been speaking of. Through the use of tropes, the garden, and the temple, we have been able to explore the origins and nature of *archai* more fully. I have claimed that mytho-philosophy has historically been reflected in the *ethos* of the poetry of the *polis* and, furthermore, that it has a rightful place in what has been, and will continue to be, an ongoing discourse, even though our own dialogue is now being concluded. The garden of the fourfold continues to flourish through analogy while the siting of the temple orientates the vision of the fourfold. This is the *archai*, not of the architect, but of the gardener.

Plato: Ah, but when I speak of the *archai* of the architect, I speak too of the *ethos* of the Self. *Ethos* is not dependent on sight. Therefore, you do not need vision but reason.

Euphemios: And this is the metaphor of the architectural of which you have been speaking?

Plato: Yes

Euphemios: *Knowingly.* Yet from the cultivated soil comes the poetry of green thoughts and therein the shade of these are nurtured the seeds of *archai* planted by the oldest gods and goddesses before even my ancestors' time. Therefore, to know the architectural you do not need reason or vision, but the poetic language of landscapes. Therein is the *ethos* of the gardener, that is, the dwelling of the temple of the Self.

Plato: *Claps at the poetic counterpoint.* You speak well. Your parents have named you fittingly. It is time for us to part company but I thank you for a most entertaining and stimulating discourse. You have shown that you cultivate Athena's gift well. Perhaps you might consider coming to the Academy. The younger trees in my garden would benefit from it. *Winks and shakes the poet's hand.*

Euphemios: *Bows deeply at the compliment.* I have said why I have come to the Acropolis today, but you have not. Why is it that you have come here?

Plato: *Shrugs his shoulders and begins to depart.* I simply like the views.

Pan: *Lowers himself from the ancient olive tree.* Dear reader, the philosopher and the poet have provided not only their own and others' views on *taxis*, *diathesis*, *euhrythmia*, *oikonomia* and *thematsimos* but now also on *symmetria*. They are at once singular and collective, philosophical and mythical, constructed and cultivated. They are one and the same; they are *pan*. And now I will leave you with another view. The tree and the temple are one: the beginning and the end of The Way. *Laughs and taps his forehead. Begins to pipe a tune and then disappears over the Mycenaean wall and down the north slope of the Sacred Rock.*

8.8 Summary

The seven Dialogues have introduced to the reader the main themes that will be explored in the analysis that follows. They are *archai*, the Forms, the fourfold, *ethos*, landscapes, the *polis*, the Self, *eidos*, the architectural, *logos*, elements, poetry, and lineage. They have been explicated through the tropes of the garden, the architect, cultivation and dwelling, the temple, and Athena's gift, as each of these is an important aspect of the physical and conceptual landscapes of the ancient Greek mind. The views of the philosopher and poet, as well as the other voices, have offered an insight into the shifts in Greek thought that occurred, primarily between the late sixth and mid 4th centuries, but began with the earliest writers of the 8th century BC.

9.0 The Garden and the Temple: the Self and ‘the architectural’

9.1 Introduction

Myth, poetry and philosophy are three of the many legacies of the ancient Greeks. Constructions of the mind, some of their most enduring themes are those of gods, mortals, origins and lineage, heroes and epic deeds, *logos*, landscape and *archai*, elements and form, and *ethos*, the *polis* and the Self. Articulated through tropes, a favourite literary device of the Greeks, these themes demonstrate, in the Dialogues, a shifting, though unbroken, trajectory of Greek thought for over 400 years from the 8th to the 4th century BC.

Beginning with Homer and Hesiod in the Archaic period, the early Greek poets wrote about the divine origins of the world and of the mortal landscapes of man. *Archai* were explicated through the poetic narrative of myth and legend (James, 1972:21). Later, the first Greek philosophers subsumed and then replaced the mythical representations of the poets, and, instead, constructed theories founded on the four elements, after which Plato advanced his own theories, embracing some, but discarding most, of his predecessors’ ideas. Together, the six *archai*, the four elements and the Forms have found expression in the seven Dialogues between the poet and the philosopher, through the fourfold and the architect and the tropes of garden and temple, and through Athena’s gift.

Instead of retracing the lineage of *archai* back to their written origins as the poet and the philosopher have done, I begin with the first Greek poets whose writing is known and follow the transitional thinking from c.750 BC until 355 BC, the ‘date’ of the Dialogues. I begin atop the Acropolis, Athens’ Sacred Rock. Although most Archaic and Classical Greeks considered Athens to be, metaphorically, the cultural head, not only of Greece but

of the Mediterranean, they continued to fervently believe that the famed religious site of the Delphic oracle, also principle sanctuary of the god Apollo, was the actual *omphalos*, or navel of Gê, that is, Mother Earth (John Pedley, 1995:135). The umbilicus would not be cut for many more centuries; *archai* continued to be nurtured, to be cultivated. Traditional belief systems persisted alongside the new ways of thinking about the world though their form of expression changed. The analysis of the Dialogues follows the trajectory of *archai* in Greek thought, from Homer to Plato, from myth to metaphor.

The analysis follows four phases of development in the Greek mind in the Dialogues: the Heroic, the Visionary, the Theoretical and the Rational (John Finley, 1966). These intellectual developments resulted in changes of the forms of expression, and reveal the profound physical and conceptual relationships that existed between gods and mortals in the garden of the architectural. Much of this evidence is in the form of poetry of the Greeks, and, especially, the plays of the Athenians during this period, which are here given voice. Although I have employed a written form of language to present the thesis as constructed landscapes, it is oral language that is the medium of expression in the Dialogues. The Archaic Greeks recited their poetry and the Classical Greeks, including the Athenians, continued this practice. Even when writing became more widespread, for many citizens in 4th century Athens it was still the source of 'history' and 'origins'.

Dialogues, by their very nature, allow for an informal conversation to occur between two or more people whose voices in a dialogue may, or may not, be heard consistently throughout. Conversations have a tendency to turn back on themselves, speakers digress and language can sometimes appear to be diachronic in a given temporal landscape.

Plato's written dialogues are one such example. Usually opening his dialogues with a number of speakers, most soon become silent as the two primary interlocutors debate the topic at hand. Plato often used his teacher, Socrates (regarded as the first philosopher of 'truths'), never himself as his mouthpiece, and employed in many of his dialogues a question and answer technique he referred to as *dialectic*. An extension of Socrates' *entelechy* enquiry, Plato used *dialectic* extensively in his writings to demonstrate his rational 'truths'. In contrast, Socrates wrote nothing; he simply preferred the immediacy of the dialogue and the informality of conversation. I have chosen an approach that falls between the methods of enquiry of Plato and Socrates: an analytical review of each of the seven Dialogues. In the Dialogues there are two main interlocutors, with a third voice 'heard' only by the reader, and a number of other voices that comprise an informal Greek chorus. The analysis examines the questions and answers posed by these speakers in the Dialogues. This 'echo' in the poetic landscape of these ancient Greeks is a gesture to narrative elements of the Archaic and Classical period, albeit in a condensed and anachronistic form.

The trajectory from Acropolis to Academy, from belief to reason, spans many hundreds of years and many hundreds of constructed landscapes. The interlocutors in the Dialogues have entered only seven, yet these seven are indicative of, and exemplify, the landscapes of the Archaic and Classical writers and, moreover, the Athenian landscape in 355 BC. These constructed landscapes have been carefully selected from the many possible locations along the Panathenaic Way, to frame and contextualise each of the seven Dialogues' themes and content, not only literally, but also figuratively. The concept-construct of landscape, integral to the discourse, becomes a tangible element of the expressive form of the Archaic and Classical Athenian mind. Implicit in this are references to Lynch's elements. In this same context, Vitruvian associations of architecture and *archai*

are also challenged. Rarely, in the analysis, is there a lengthy quote from the Dialogues. Where there is, it serves as a referent to highlight a critical view of either Euphemios or Plato.

Before examining the constructed landscapes of the Greeks in relation to the themes introduced in the Dialogues, I open with a section on Greek poetry and myth in relation to *archai*. With one exception, that of Pindar, it does not cite examples of the work of the Archaic poets and Classical playwrights. Rather, their words are heard in context within the analysis of a claim, point or argument made in the Dialogues themselves. Based on the Dialogue at the Theatre of Dionysos, this would have otherwise been located between the analysis of Dialogues four and six; however, due to the important role poetry and myth played in Archaic and Classical culture, and in the Dialogues, it is presented first.

9.2 The Theatre of Dionysos Dialogue Analysis

This section, taken out of sequence from the seven Dialogues, follows the spoken discourse between Euphemios and Plato on poetry and myth while visiting the Theatre of Dionysos. As a digression, the fifth Dialogue branches off the path of the primary thesis discourse, but, importantly, it leads to a cultural node. It affords entry into the discourse, to the Greek poets of the 7th and 6th centuries BC, and to the Athenian playwrights of the 6th, 5th and 4th. Through their work can be traced a trajectory of Greek thought regarding *archai*. As an integral element in the form of the Dialogues, and the analysis, this particular trajectory demonstrates the role of myth and poetry in relation to the *polis* and to the emergent sense of Self in relation to the architectural as I have employed this term.

Myth and poetry are both concept-constructs. Through the medium of poetry, the myths of the Greeks reveal their concept of the order and the purpose of the cosmos and the world,

and Man's place in it. Through the narrative of their myths, the ancient Greeks also learnt about the role of *archai*, essential to the sustainment of that order and that purpose (Clarence Glacken, 1967:36). Cecil Bowra concurs, arguing that Greek myth and poetry in general concentrates on the very human question of Man's

place in the scheme of things, his relations with the gods, the worth of his actions, the meaning of his successes and failures, his claims on society and society's claims on him. In due course such matters were to be debated at the loftiest level by philosophers in a language which moved easily among the abstractions (1968:25).

Critical to Greek myth and poetry is the language of the landscape. It literally, and figuratively, locates a narrative and orientates the reader or, more often, the listener of a recitation and constructs for them a 'mental image' of the scene being played out. Finley writes "the mind cannot, so to speak, visit any place language does not put on the itinerary; we see in the world - or at least consciously see - only what words allow us to see" (1966:53). To seek then, the origins of *archai* in myth and poetry one must 'read' the landscape of language with 'Greek eyes'.

It was not until the mid-8th century BC that the Greeks developed an alphabet with consonants that allowed them to write actual words. Borrowing from, and building on, the earlier Phoenician alphabet, the Greeks established a writing system that allowed full expression of their ideas, and, moreover, permanency of their hitherto oral narratives (Bowra 1968:10). The first poems to be written down were the 'histories' of the Golden Age of Greeks by the Ionian Greek, Homer, c.750 BC. The Archaic Greeks believed that heroic mythological events described were, in fact, their ancient history (Nilsson, 1986:12). Historical Greece in Homer's Epic poetry left an indelible mark in the constructed landscapes the Greek mind, and echoes of the words of the ancients were 'heard' repeatedly in the literature of the ensuing centuries (Bowra, 1968:16). According to Richard Tarnas though they contained no factual, historical deeds or events, collectively

they underpinned the identity of the *polis* and the Self, “what it meant to be Greek” (2010:18).

Finley suggests that the early writers presented their views in the “mixed light of vision and idea” (1966:55). Whether or not an Athenian could read, he was able to understand language in oral form. The works of the poets and playwrights were his ‘eyes’, and through them he saw the landscape as they represented it. Thus, the complexity of the interplay that is Euphemios’ ‘seeing’ and Plato’s ‘*eidos*’ was developed through a temporal landscape of many generations.

The landscapes of the speakers in the Dialogues are mythic and philosophical, even ‘mytho-philosophical’ at certain nodes along the Way. This term is derived from two Greek words first used in the 5th century, *mythos* and *philosophia*, one an unverifiable historical ‘truth’, the other, a name given to one who is highly regarded as an exponent skilled at his craft and able to teach it to others (Brisson, 2004:12). *Philosophia*, as the discipline of later thinkers such as Plato transcended the “human apprenticeships” of previous *sophoi*, and came to represent higher intellectual thought (Brisson, 2004:13). Therefore, a philosophical constructed landscape in the mid-4th century BC differed from one in the early 5th century BC. Even more different were the Homeric constructed landscapes wherein deed, not thought, was the measure of Man.

Although Homer does not use the term *archai* in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, (it not being introduced until some 200 years after he wrote), the *idea* of it is evident in the poems. Hesiod’s poetic works also employ the six *archai* to formulate a cohesive structural whole. Both poets offered the Greek world a form in which *archai* were manifest as concept and as construct. Athenians thereafter, strove to emulate the ancients in their

quest for personal *ethos*. Homeric narrative, as a constructed landscape, employs the six *archai*, as do Plato's architect and the poet's gardener. For the poet and the philosopher this is the actualisation of the Self that they speak of, though in very different terms. For Euphemios, "Greece offers to us its gardens of myths, in all its fertility" (Claude Calame, 2003:1). For Plato, "visual perception is inferior to intellectual apprehension" and for Homer, "imagery lies in the realm of action" (Ron Goodrich, 1982:135).

Often, this 'action' took the form of a journey in myth. The journey of the god or hero in the myth parallels the journey of the listener or reader, who, following an analogous path, looks for the compositional structure and ideas expressed in the narrative. Similarly, Euphemios and Plato (and the reader) have journeyed along The Way and entered into the constructed landscapes of Greek myth and poetry seeking the Western origins of *archai*. While the works of the Archaic poets incorporated *archai* in various guises, their origins themselves were explicitly mythological. The revelation of a truth depended on enjoining *archai* and origins. Motifs in the form of repeated metaphors and narrative elements or sequences, reinforced the process by which the 'truth' would be made known. Myths are thus formed and inform through sequential motifs (Ken Dowden, 1992:58).

In the work of Homer, Hesiod, the Lyric poets, and, later, in the Classical Athenian plays, the *theoi* are ever present; if not at the forefront of the story, at the very least they are working away 'behind the scenes' (Mary Lefkowitz, 2003:1) Homer's epic *Iliad* relates the events of the final weeks of the long war between a coalition of Greek states and Troy. Yet the Greeks do not fight the Trojans alone. Their gods and goddesses fight alongside them, notably Zeus, Athena and Hephaistos, who are similarly 'present' in the locations of other Dialogues between Plato and Euphemios in the second, seventh and fourth dialogues respectively. The six *archai* underpinning this task are the same that underpins Achilles'

deeds on the battlefield. In each action, Greek *ethos* is exemplified. In each mortal is the embodiment of *eudaimonia*. When the mortal gardener dies he is returned to the darkness of the earth; whereas when the hero, Achilles, dies, he rests in the landscapes of the Immortals, called Elysium.

As well as life, death and immortality, renewal is a recurring motif in Greek myth. In the *Homeric Hymns* the *theoi* are also at the forefront. The *Homeric Hymns*, though attributed to the Epic poet, are not his and were composed after the time when Homer wrote (Bowra, 1968:74). The Hymns belong to a period when the Epic poem, as literary form, was declining (Bowra, 1968:77). The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, probably written in the 7th or 6th century BC (Charles Penglase, 1994:126), highlights the role of the goddess in relation to the greater temporal Greek landscape, and, more specifically, the seasonal landscape. The loss of Demeter's daughter, Persephone, snatched by Hades while picking meadow flowers and taken to the darkness of the Underworld although allowed to return to the lightness every Spring, symbolises not only the fertility of the earth, but also its vulnerability to the wrath of the *theoi*. For the Greeks of antiquity, Demeter represents a complex set of underlying *archai* that explains the greening and nurturing of mortal landscapes, as well as the death and decay of them; however, it is the cyclical nature of the seasons and, thus, the renewal of the landscape that resonate in the Archaic and Classical mind. The *Homeric Hymn to Athena*, which describes only her birth, springing from the head of her father, Zeus, clad in full armour, is symbolic, but for different reasons. "Even Heaven and Mother Earth trembled at her" (Pindar, Olympic Ode 7.38, in Penglase, 1994:231) because Athena represents power: power of the *theoi*, of the *polis*, power of the *demos*. In the collective Athenian mind, power, in the hands of one or a few, has the potential to upset the equilibrium of *archai*, so the advent of a fledgling democracy in the 6th century BC was thought to be a safeguard against any imbalance.

Myth had long played a role in Athens justifying land occupation and use. Nilsson writes that by the mid-6th century BC, Athens “still had a living belief in myths and the faculty of creating new ones” (1986:49). One of the most important, though not the oldest, myths was that of Theseus’ *synoicism* of the Attic *demes* and the central realisation of power in Athens. His heroic exploits in releasing Athens from the debt to the Cretan King Minos by defeating the Minotaur (half-man, half-bull), are celebrated and perpetuated in myth. More prolific in heroic deeds was Heracles, whose seven labours have been also immortalised in myth, and in stone on the Hephaisteion frieze. The restoration of Athenian sovereign power and the labours are analogous to the preservation and continuance of a higher order, where all things are equally disposed and in harmonious proportion. The cosmos, the world, the *polis* and the Self, again are reflected in the mythological landscapes of the Athenian mind.

Of the Archaic Athenian poets, it is the statesman and *archon*, Solon, whose poems reveal most eloquently the connection between the stability of the political, economic and social systems of the *polis* and the shifts in systems of thought, and the interpretation of old and new forms in relation to this, by its citizens (Bruno Snell, 1971:43). In 594 BC, Solon composed a poem, *Elegy to the Muses*, in which he describes the different activities of Man, attributing to each Athenian the origin of his skill. Some men have learned a craft from the gods, such as smithing from Hephaistos, others have learned poetry from the Muses and, still others, have been gifted as seers by Apollo. Merchants and farmers are as important and indispensable as those to whom the gods have given skills in the Athenian *polis* (Snell, 1971:40). The sense of implied equality as members of the community was reinforced through his reformation of Draconian Law and instituting fixed annual terms for *archons*. The ideas in Solon’s poetry thus drew a divided *polis*, on the brink of civil war, together again. The overarching theme of his poem, though, was that the

polis' destiny lay not in the hands of its citizens but that of Zeus. In his *Elegy* Solon acknowledges the problems inherent in placing one man's position in the *polis* over another, and, for the sake of order and stability, prevails upon the citizenry to respect the divine justice of Zeus above and beyond the mortal law of the *archon* (Snell, 1971:39).

The 6th century BC was also a time when traditional regional Attic religious practices began to develop secret cults, such as the Mysteries at Eleusis, about whose inner workings not much is known. Their importance in the collective mind of the *polis* was the association with a specific landscape and divinity. The rites that were observed reflected the practices and beliefs of the *polis* as a whole (Snell, 1971:48). Another *archon*, Cleisthenes, in the late 6th century BC, employed the concept-construct of mythic origins and *demes* to reform the political landscape. He 'invented' ten new tribal eponyms based on familial ancestry, thereby reinforcing the connection to and belief in the autochthonous origins of Athenians. Nilsson argues that this use of myth should not be underestimated as a means of reinforcing belonging and identity, in this case, being an Athenian (1986:65). The Athenians had grafted progressive political thought onto the rootstock of traditional beliefs to reinforce the *archai* that was manifested in every aspect of the Athenians' constructed landscapes.

Late Archaic Lyric poetry shifts the emphasis from the outer landscape to the inner one. These poets sought to express not fractious political elements as Solon had, or heroic deed and glorious death as Homer had, but the inner thoughts of Man in relation to his world as Pindar did. All these poets speak of an underlying "unifying principle" (Snell, 1971:49) though what they speak of differs. In essence, though, *eudaimonia* and *ethos* are common themes in each author's work. The six *archai*, as concordant elements, are a form of 'the good life' that is practised by the 'good man'. Over two hundred years later, in

his Protagoras, Plato has Socrates open the poem with “It is difficult to be truly a good man”. Reflecting on the ‘true meaning’ of the word ‘good’, Plato, through Socrates, has in mind “the universal collective virtues that comprise all single virtues” that is, *archai* (Snell, 1971:50).

Pindar, the greatest of the late Archaic Lyric poets, envisaged this new inner landscape that reflected new social conditions:

Let the Hymns resound, but don't go in the beaten tracks of Homer, but
with new horses, since I have mounted the winged chariot of the Muses...
For the mind of a man is blind, if he tries without the aid of the Muses to
explore the deep way in the wisdom of mortals (Snell, 1971:65)

Snell regards Pindar's lines as “an important landmark” (1971:65) in the constructed landscape as he is here speaking of cognition, that a man “can and must toil in his mind”, to find a ‘truth’ (Snell, 1971:62).

Myth as a system of thought was susceptible to shifts in the landscape of language and the garden of ideas. The Archaic Lyric poets had laid the foundations for the 5th century Tragedians to construct an image of Man in his environment that was ‘closer to home’ for the Athenians than it hitherto had been. By the 5th century BC, Homer's Epic poetry was being replaced by the Tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (and, later, by the comic plays of Aristophanes and others) on the Greek world stage. Looking inward now, they explored the themes of *archai*, origins and *ethos*, which had hitherto been expressed though the Homeric outward looking gaze: “[w]ith Aeschylus and Sophocles we entered another world, in which mind and eyes were more nearly partners” (Finley, 1966:54). Although Pindar had extolled the pursuit of recognising order in the cosmos through the *sophia*, the Tragedian, Euripides, believed it was through a kind of questioning, a type of investigation, or *historia*, to understand the elements, form and composition of the cosmos. Moreover, for Euripides the freedom to dwell in an inner

landscape was analogous to an intellectual life (Snell, 1971:81). Whereas, in earlier Greek poetry, Man could change his way of life through being admonished or advised, in Tragedies the narrative dealt with inner change founded on *sophia*. Tarnas (2010:18) suggests that the Tragedians were expressing Athens' deepening awareness of the *ethos* of the Self in relation to the *ethos* of the *polis*.

Whereas "Homer's brightly shining analogies and Pindar's gleaming metaphors showed the landscape in a golden light" (Snell, 1971:75), no longer is the landscape ever shining and gleaming but is shrouded in darkness. Wisdom alone will see the return of lightness. Analogous to the darkness and lightness is the chaos and order of the cosmos, the world, the *polis*, and now the Self. The Self seeks the sunlight so it can grow and flourish. The Self found new expression in the emergent forms of philosophy and poetry, and in the plays of the Athenians of the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

The Greeks had a genius for the adaptation and absorption of ideas, not only in the language of architecture and sculpture, but also in the language of words. The trajectory from Homer and Hesiod, to the early and then late Lyric poets, and to the Tragedians, led to a new form of poetic expression, the Comedies, which fall into two categories, the Old, and the New (Aristophanes' comedies belong to the older style). Aristophanes satirises the 5th century Athenians who sought advice from the oracles. In *Birds* and *Wasps*, he challenges myth and political propaganda (Nilsson, 1986:136). He criticises the society and political landscape of his time and devises utopias as alternatives. He lampoons the new philosophers, and the old poets and his predecessors in his own field. Poets and philosophers, lawmakers and seers, each associated with the epithet of *sophia*, were caricatured in his plays. In his *Clouds*, Aristophanes attacks the Sophists using, ironically, the 'voice of Socrates' as the lead player who, in actuality, railed against Sophistic

practices (William Arrowsmith in Arrowsmith, Lattimore and Parker, 1994:18). The following excerpt sets the scene, literally, and demonstrates the shift from the solemnity of his predecessors to the new escapist humour of the Athenian mind. The mental image created reveals that even *archai* - whether mythic or philosophic in origin - were not exempt from satire

SCENE: A street in Athens. On the left, the house of Strepsiades, an old farmer compelled by the war to leave the country and take up residence in Athens; on the right, the tiny, grubby, ramshackle hovel which houses Socrates' Thinkery. On the extreme left, a statue of Poseidon. Before Strepsiades' house stands a Herm, a bust of the god Hermes supported by a square pillar; in front of Socrates' house, balancing the Herm, stands pot-bellied stove with a long tapering flue and a placard which reads:

MODEL OF THE UNIVERSE
ACCORDING TO THE CONVECTION
PRINCIPLE.

(from Aristophanes *Clouds* trans. by Arrowsmith in Arrowsmith, Lattimore and Parker, 1994:21-2).

Aristophanes drew on the excesses and vanities of such men who, in his mind, did not deserve the honorific title of 'wise man' because they put themselves above others (Snell, 1971:96). This hubris was, since Homeric times, anathema to the Greeks, including the Athenians. Hubris offended the *theoi* as it did the ordinary citizen. It did not reflect the *archai* of the *polis* or the Self.

Although the revision and systemisation of oral narratives led to the writing of traditionally accepted myths, the Greeks were not averse to creating new myths if it reinforced certain socio-cultural agendas. Inextricably tied to religion, and thus the *polis*, myth was used to inculcate into the minds of the citizens the role that *archai* played in their lives. The success of their Epic, Lyric and later dramatic poetry attests to this. Each form developed into a model that reflected the societal beliefs and aspirations of an epoch and the advent of the early philosophers brought into existence a mode of expression, that of prose. The

earliest philosophical prose was written by Anaximander in the late 6th century BC, although poetry as a means of expressing the profound questions of Man still prevailed among many of his Presocratic successors, such was its influence.

Myth was the basis for Greek geographical and topographical thought and played a role even in the later philosophies of the 4th century BC, when Plato was writing. Dowden asserts

[m]yth establishes people, places, things. More than that, it identifies them and gives them some sort of conceptual place, by associations and contrasts. Indeed, the whole of Greek mythology may be viewed as an enormous text in dialogue with that other text, the world in which we live (1992:74).

In 355 BC, when the Dialogues are set, Plato and Euphemios live in an Athenian cultural landscape that was changing. The Classical era was in decline and the Hellenistic one was on the near horizon. Yet the works of the Archaic Epic and Lyric poets' narratives of the fourfold were still revered and recited in both private and public spheres. The fifth of the Dialogues takes place, naturally enough, in the public forum of the Theatre of Dionysos, situated on the southern slope of the Acropolis. The arc of ranges beyond the plains mirrors the arc of the amphitheatre embracing the stage. Landscape and myth, *polis* and poetry are each reflected in the other.

Although Plato is seated in the front row of the Theatre of Dionysos, in one of the marble thrones in deference to his stature, giving the stage over to Euphemios elevates the poet and his words both literally and figuratively. The language of the poet, not the philosopher, is conveyed through tropes in this Dialogue, except for one of Plato's lines: "I do enjoy poetry and have even tried my hand at it, but for pleasure, not for explicating a philosophy", which is intended to reinforce the hold that poetry and myth had on even its

most vehement detractors. Learning by heart the Homeric myths was, after all, a fundamental branch of the Athenian education system.

In an impromptu oration at the Theatre of Dionysos, the voice of Homer encapsulates the themes and “Heroic” vision of his work. The subtext of this oratory is the *ethos* of the Greek heroes of the Golden Age, and the six *archai* upon which it is premised. In Homer’s epics we encounter a society held together by a fixed and uniform idea of what constitutes good and evil (Snell, 1971:13). In Plato’s *Republic*, written some four hundred years later, his society is defined by a similar dichotomy. Whereas Homer’s description looks outward onto the greater landscape of Man and his *ethos*, Plato’s critique of the character of the Athenian *polis* contrasted against the of constitution his ideal city in his *Republic* is analogous to a critique of “the constitution of [our] inner selves” (Goodrich, 1982:135). When Plato wrote his *Republic* he envisaged a society in which the education of the youth of the ideal *polis* excluded the use of Homeric myth as a teaching model of *ethos*.

In the theatre, Euphemios speaks of the Epic poets as teachers. Indeed, until displaced by the philosophers, Homer was regarded as the father of Greek of education (Tarnas, 2010:18). Brisson argues

the poet was the privileged intermediary between a community and the systems of explanation and values to which the community adhered. We can thus understand why, in ancient Greece until the sixth century BC, the poet held a monopoly of the transmission of the memorable and thus “education”, this term being understood here in a particularly broad sense and placed in a specific context (2004:7).

The Classical poets, too, were highly regarded and every year in the annual festival of the City Dionysia, held in the month of *Elaphebolion* (corresponding to the end of March and the beginning of April), the poets competed for the honour of being the winner and thus the most eminent exponent of their art form. Their works were also studied, for therein was

Man and *ethos*, the six *archai* and their origins, the fourfold and environmental relationships. Later, though, with the emergence of the natural philosophers and, subsequently, the Postsocratic thinkers, myth and poetry were viewed in a very different, even objective manner. Interestingly, the Greek term *mythos* did not come into existence until late in the 5th century, when the earliest natural philosophers critiqued, for the first time, the narratives and origin stories of the 8th and 7th century poets. Calame argues that whereas myth "... essentially [gave] a report of the sacred origins of the world..." (2003:2), by 550 BC, the Presocratics had challenged myth on "moral and scientific grounds" and, almost contemporaneously, the emergence of the geographers and writers of 'true' historical accounts saw myth refuted on the grounds of "first hand observation" (Dowden 1992:39). Shifts in the cultural beliefs of an increasingly intellectual public and the mythic narratives of the poets opened the gate onto a different kind of landscape, that of *historia*. Both Herodotus and Thucydides went so far as to write of events that they had personally witnessed or could be verified by a reliable contemporary (Brisson, 2994:12).

According to Plato poets, like painters, practise a deceptive or superficial likeness, an untruthful image of the real object (Goodrich, 1982:130). Plato goes further and suggests that visual perception is inferior to intellectual apprehension, one leading to confusion and the other to truth. Yet he used myth as a form of explicating his own ideas on *archai* and *ethos* in his own literary works. He recognised the possibilities that exist through tropes and the accessibility of a medium, *mythos*, which, through its *logos*, casts a different truth (Dowden, 1992:48). Goodrich describes Plato's rebuke of poetry as a means of education and knowledge: "[p]oetry written for pleasure may be re-admitted providing her defenders can prove that she also brings lasting benefit to human life and human society and that she also proves to have high value and truth" (1982:135). Although he did not renounce myth, Plato did reject allegory (Brisson, 2004:1).

As Greek thinking about *archai* had developed, so had the forms of expression, though traditional motifs still continued to endure. For example, the poem shifted in metre, in arrangement, in language. Bowra writes that the Greeks “assumed in all their poetry that words must have a shapely, regular arrangement ... and the explanation seems to lie in the innate desire to impose order on words just as they did with stone or bronze” (1968:19). Bowra further writes that, for the Greek writers, the “words that come, as it were from nowhere, may still call for ruthless discrimination before they are set in a satisfying order and harmony” (1968:27). If this is an example of *archai* being an element in the ancient Greek poetic form, and I argue that it is, then extant writings about *archai* begins with Homer and the other Archaic poets: “The Greek combination of tradition and experiment is nowhere so clear or so decisive than in the art of words” (Bowra, 1968:25).

Werner Jaeger writes

[t]he literary forms used by the Greeks, with all their manifold variety and elaborate structure, grew organically out of the transference of the bare simple forms in which men express themselves in language, to the ideal sphere of art and style (in Rex Martiensson, 1968:168).

In other words, poetry, like philosophy and architecture, developed its form.

Archetypal form, the manifestation of *archai*, resonates through ancient Greek myth and poetry. Tarnas observes in the

... luminous dawn of Western literary tradition, was captured the primordial mythological sensibility in which the events of human existence were perceived as intimately related to, and informed by, the eternal realm of the gods and goddesses (2010: 17).

In one form or another, in Greek myth the *theoi* have a presence, whether anthropomorphological, or through association with natural phenomena. For example, Aeschylus' character, Orestes, is more often than not commemorated in the landscape (Dowden, 1992:92). The perception that the earth was created as an “orderly, harmonious whole” originates in the ancient beliefs that *theoi* had direct personal relations with mortals

(Glacken, 1967:36). In the earliest Lyric and Elegiac poems of the 7th and 6th centuries BC the physical landscape was often ascribed divine attributes, such was the perceived interchangeable nature of landscape elements and the gods and goddesses. Similarly, *taxis* and *eurhythmia* existed in the landscape through *thematsimos*, *oikonomia* and *symmetria*. However, it is the shift in the relationships between gods and mortals and the introduction of other 'forms' in the 5th and 4th centuries that reveal the changing intellectual landscapes of the Greeks of antiquity.

The conflict between *mythos* and *philosophia* reaches its apex with Plato (Brisson, 2004:11). Paradoxically, given his stance on mythical origins and the *theoi*, even in Plato's own dialogues, for example, *Timaeus*, the gods have a place in the greater scheme of the narrative. Alex Preminger and Terry Brogan argue "poetic form also admits several meanings, some so divergent from each other that they are contradictory" (1975:286). However, the appearance of contradiction may actually itself be contradicted. It is the nature of the constructed landscape and its cultivated words and their context that reveal the apparent contradiction. One must read the work with the author in mind for they present the landscape in their own language.

Through the poetic language of the Tragedians and, later, the Comedic dramatists in oral performances, was conveyed to the Athenian the *ethos* of his society in relation to 'historical' myth. The advent of writing, though, did allow for greater numbers of citizens to access a wider range of views on all aspects of Greek thinking. This, of course, included views on *archai*. Finley observes

... the spread of writing gradually created another outlook; Socrates in the *Apology* speaks of books for sale in the marketplace, and Euripides reputedly had a library ... Plato of course had higher aims for prose: nothing less than his faith in human rationality and the mind's power to guide itself through dialectic ... (1966: 83-4).

Brisson argues that poets created myths to embrace the values of a society, that is, *ethos* and *theos*, and present them as knowledge (2004:7). Philosophers, however, were not above using them to explicate their own complex rationalisations of *archai*. Goodrich, encapsulates this: "... [w]hat should be worthy of admiration in man, it seems, should be worthy of admiration in poetry: wisdom, reason, harmony, and the like" (1982:136). Yet he digs deeper into the substrate of the Platonic consciousness, writing

[b]y acknowledging these coinciding features, Plato rhetorically places the onus upon his readers to show cause for denying that there is a link between morality and aesthetics, and yet, by attempting to convince us that there is something rotten in the state of poetry, Plato has ironically ended by suggesting that something is rotten in the constitution of man (Goodrich,1982:136).

By beginning the analysis of the Dialogues with this background narrative, I establish the role of myth and poetry in relation to *archai* from the outset. The poets and playwrights referred to by Euphemios can have their voices formally introduced and 'heard' in the appropriate landscape. Plato's position on the trajectory of Greek thought in relation to the Dialogues is established. More importantly, though, is the key to understanding Euphemios' interpretation of *archai* in relation to a "cultivated landscape" where "dwelling is given poetic form". This is the belief that Homeric descriptions of landscapes are truthful. Homer's imagery is vivid, colourful, and, as Finley describes it, a "shining" panoramic worldview (1966:12). Thus, for both the Archaic and Classical poets and playwrights, myth and the fourfold represented a clear vision of a higher order, of the role between Man and his cultural, religious, political and physical environment. Snell argues that the translation of a passage in the sixth book of the *Odyssey* (v.18off), describes "harmony" as being a concordance, a "unity of inner disposition toward other people" (1971:20). This "harmony" is, I would argue, what Euphemios is describing in his proposition regarding the role and *ethos* of the fourfold. In 355 BC the role of myth and poetry in Athens was still pervasive, and it still captured the imagination of its citizens. I believe that through it were revealed

the relationships between *ethos* and *theos*, *archai* and the architectural, and this is demonstrated in the Dialogues.

9.3 The Acropolis Summit Dialogue Analysis

A marker in the physical and religious landscape of ancient Athens, the Acropolis is the site of the last of the seven Dialogues between the poet and the philosopher. As a constructed landscape it has two significant functions in the discourse. The first, paradoxically, signifies the end as well as the beginning of The Way, and the second, through its mythology and its topography, the Acropolis, also known as the Sacred Rock, reflects its *topos* in the Greek mind (Jeffrey Hurwitt 1999:8). Home of the *theoi*, this landscape itself is invested with power and meaning (Elizabeth Rogers, 2001:43). The positioning in this Dialogue of Euphemios and Plato between Athena's sacred olive and the ruins of an older building exemplifies the two recurring tropes of the Dialogues: tree and temple. The interlocutors' concluding exchanges reinforce five aspects found in the other dialogues which become the start point for analysis of the Acropolis Summit Dialogue: landscape, the *polis*, the fourfold, the architectural and origins.

Emerging from the darkness of the post-Mycenaean age, the Athenians of the 8th century BC found themselves in the light of a new era, one in which the Greeks were, for the first time, writing down the 'history' of a former Golden Age: of the fourfold, of *ethos*, and, significantly, of *archai*. Therefore, as Tarnas proposes, in order to

... approach what was distinctive in a vision as complex and protean as that of the Greeks, let us begin by examining one of its most striking characteristics – a sustained, highly diversified tendency to interpret the world in terms of archetypal principles (2010:3).

These archetypal principals, or *archai*, were introduced in the Dialogues and the analysis examines these further, beginning with the Acropolis Dialogue. Although Homer has been

spoken of in the preceding section on the role of myth and poetry, and is not mentioned specifically in this Dialogue, his presence in this constructed landscape is, like Athena's, very much felt. So too, are the *archai* which are present in the minds of Euphemios and Plato. Tarnas observes

... [t]his tendency was evident throughout Greek culture from the Homeric epics onward, though it first emerged in a philosophically elaborate form in the intellectual crucible of Athens between the latter part of the fifth century BC and the middle of the fourth (2010:3).

Constantine Trypanis observes that through the works of the 5th century poet Aeschylus the Athenian mind had broken "free of the walled, claustrophobic citadel" of the past and "liberated [its collective] perspective once and for all" (1971:70). Contemporaneous with these later intellectual shifts in the landscape, and mainly through the efforts of Cimon and Pericles, the "pleasant market town" of Athens had been transformed into a *polis* of great stature (Finley 1966:58). Athens reached a zenith in The Golden Age of Pericles in which its cultural creativity and political influence in Greece was unsurpassed and the Athenian citizen "asserted himself within his world with a new sense of his own power and intelligence" (Tarnas, 2010:25). Pericles' plan ensured that all trace of the Persian invasion and their destruction of the buildings on the Acropolis would be erased (Hurwitt, 1999:310). Instead, a magnificent new complex that included the Propylaea, the Temple of Athena Nike and the Erechtheion buildings was constructed, forming "a coherent whole, conceived with an eye to mass gatherings and dazzling rituals" (Henri Stierlin, 2001:12), although Pericles' most lauded building achievement is the Parthenon which, argues Rogers (2001:67), epitomises the quest for a rational understanding of the underlying *archai* in nature and the cosmos.

Not for the first time had rebuilding and additions been made on the Sacred Rock. Upon the foundations of the Mycenaean palaces were built the first temples and treasuries, and, upon altars old and new, religious and cultic rituals were observed, and were still evolving

by the 'date' of the Dialogues (Hurwitt, 1999:35). The Acropolis summit is itself a trope from where one can view the broader historical Athenian landscape. From here, one can look to the past and to the future. In his *Oresteia* (trans. Robert Fagles, 1977) - and its subsequent retelling by Sophocles and Euripides - Aeschylus' treatment of the legend of Orestes, who killed his mother to avenge his father, was tried on the Acropolis by Athena and twelve *theoi*, and was acquitted by the goddess herself after a tied vote, is analogous to the rebuilding of the 'house' of the king. The rebuilding program is also analogous to the renewal of myth, the regeneration of trees, and the continuity of Euphemios' fourfold. It is, however, the antithesis of Plato's temple formed by the architect. Whereas the poet explicitly looks to the receding horizon of the earliest kings of Athens and the *theoi*, the philosopher's view from the Acropolis ostensibly only looks forward from the archonship of Solon in the late 6th century BC to time of the archonship of Demosthenes in the mid-4th century BC.

Plato does, however, provide a view (considered 'ancient' in the late Classical era), of the 'historical' physical landscape of the Acropolis. In his *Critias* (360 BC), Plato has his eponymous character describe the ancient citadel precinct at length, although here I include a contraction of the longer section of dialogue:

The Acropolis was different from what it is now. Today it is quite bare of soil which was all washed away in an appalling night of flood, by a combination of earthquakes and the third terrible deluge before that of Deucalion. Before that, in earlier days, it extended to the Eridanos and Ilissos, it included the Pnyx and was bounded on the opposite side by the Lycabettos; it was covered with soil and for the most part level. Outside on its immediate slopes, lived the craftsmen and the agricultural workers ... Higher up lived the military class by itself round the temple of Athena and Hephaistos, surrounded by a single wall like the garden of a single house. On the northern side they built their common dwelling-houses ... and everything else required by their communal life in the way of buildings and temples ... In the summer they abandoned their gardens and

gymnasia ... and used the southern side of the Acropolis instead. ... [I]n those days there was an ample supply of good water in both winter and summer (trans. Desmond Lee, 1977:134-5).

Plato's description is important for five reasons. First, one can infer from the passage that by the time of writing *Critias* theories had emerged in the Greek mind regarding the physical nature of the four elements, and not simply the *theoi*, as agents of change in the landscape. Second, a communal *ethos* is referred to and implicit in this *ethos* is the practice of observing *archai*. Third, the inhabitants had seasonal gardens near their dwellings that they cultivated and nurtured. Fourth, archaeological evidence reveals occupation on the Acropolis since at least Neolithic times (Hurwitt, 1999:8) and therefore Plato might have based his theory on evidence of earlier occupation. Fifth, the description rests on the foundation of the myth of Deucalion, son of the god Prometheus, who prayed to Zeus for the restoration of the 'race of Man' after the angered god had destroyed it (Roger Woodard, 2007:53).

In *Critias*, (as in some of his other dialogues), Plato resorts to traditional beliefs to express new ideas regarding the elements in relation to the physical landscape of not only the Acropolis but, by extension, Athens. In the Dialogues, including the Acropolis Dialogue, it is not without irony then, that the young poet, Euphemios, espouses the values of the traditional forms of Greek myth and poetry, and the old philosopher, Plato, promotes the new prose forms of philosophy.

The constructed landscape of the Acropolis reflects both the poet's and the philosopher's tropes that reveal their respective relationships between the Self, *archai* and the architectural. Thus, the physical landscape becomes the counterpoint to the change in the intellectual landscape and is reflected in "the change from verse to prose, from shape to concept, from story to analysis, from mythological to conceptual ways of thinking" (Finley,

1966:58). The Acropolis Dialogue represents this dichotomous relationship between belief and reason in which the orientation of speakers in relation to the altar and the tree, the statue and the temple, all dedicated to Athena, reflects her many guises and demonstrates the enduring belief systems of the late Classical Athenians even at a time when reason is superseding belief.

In myth, Athena is depicted as a goddess of many powers and much munificence. The olive tree is her gift to the *demos*. She has numerous manifestations and plays multiple roles in Greek, especially Athenian, life. The range of epithets associated with her name attest to her broader worship: Athena Polias (guardian of the *polis*), Athena Promachos (warrior), Athena Nike (victory) and Athena Hygeia (health). As Athena Hippia, she is tamer of horses and subduer of Poseidon, her rival for Athenian patronage. She was also the patroness of heroes, like Heracles and Achilles. All of these roles are subsumed into a greater one: as Athena Ergane she is the goddess of *techne* (skill) and *metis* (intelligence and ingenuity) and is closely associated with Hephaistos, god of the forge. While Demeter is goddess of the soil, Athena is goddess of its cultivation, for it is she who invented the plough (Hurwitt, 1999:15-17). It is Athena, then, who provides mortals with the tools to construct their environment as well as the skill to make the things necessary for everyday life.

Athena's wisdom and skill resonate for both poet and philosopher alike; the poet nurtures the relationship between the garden and the gardener, and the philosopher builds the relationship between the architect and the temple, yet the two have in common the trope of 'the architectural'. The use of this term has, I argue, been appropriated by the modern discipline of architecture, in much the same way as 'archetypal form' has, resulting in the loss of an older, more profound, meaning, one that the Greeks viewed as divine. The term

'architectural' is seemingly straightforward. An adjectival form of the noun, architecture, its etymology is Greek in origin: *Arkhi*- principle, first, chief + *tekon*- builder (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2008:68).

There is, however, another view. If one considers the term *archon*, 'one who is in authority', which is based on *arkhi* (Douglas Harper, 2012:1) and locates it in an Athenian context its meaning is shifted in the constructed landscape. Until 480 BC, nine *archons*, each responsible for an aspect of the welfare of the *polis*, were the mortal authorities of Athens. Thereafter, their roles were diminished but still important (Christopher Blackwell, 2003:3). As chief or principle authorities, through their civic responsibilities they ensured that the *polis*, through its collective citizenry, upheld the six *archai*. In this respect, the poet and the philosopher share a similar point of view though they position themselves in the landscape differently. For example, in Plato's *Republic*, the collective citizenry is the physical embodiment of his imagined ideal *polis* and thus the collective *ethos* of it. Euphemios' embodiment of *ethos* is similarly premised, though on the real *polis* of Athens. Pindar, too, extolled the real *polis*: O Glorious Athens – shining, violet-crowned, worthy of song, bulwark of Greece, city of the gods (in Trypanis, 1971:196) such was her presence in the Greek world of the time.

The poet and the philosopher also speak of the 'measure of Man' in relation to *archai*. The discourse between them demonstrates the role *archai* has played in the Athenian mind from the mid-8th to the mid-4th centuries BC. This role is evident in the early Greek meaning of *ethos*, which describes the "character and habits of a person" (Thomas Mautner, 2000:182). Further, "in ancient rhetoric, the construction of a person's ethos, that is, the depiction of a character, was an important element" (Mautner, 2000:182). In other words, not only observing an *ethos* was important, but, equally so, the representation of

that *ethos* through a person's identity. The great Athenian law reformer Solon personified this when he addressed the collective Athenian citizenry after accomplishing his political reforms

Great Olympian Mother Earth will swear before time's court that I took from her breast the mortgage-markers, freed her from bonds. I repatriated many sons of Athens – slaves (by law or not) or debt-exiles ... Fitting might to right, I worked the deed I'd promised, set straight laws alike for lord and lowly ... (trans. James Holoka, 1995: n.p)

In this Dialogue, Euphemios and Plato both summarise their vision of *ethos* as both a personal and a collective identity. For each of them, *ethos* is developed through observing *archai* in its various manifestations and although each of them presents an opposing contextual landscape, one of cultivation, and one of construction, ultimately the two views form a single perspective. Thus, poet and philosopher share a common ground; not only that of Greek-ness but also of being *born* an Athenian. They share the cultural language of the landscape. The 'language' of their Athenian Greek-ness differentiated them from the 'barbarians' beyond the horizon. It was more than merely a linguistic difference though. A barbarian was one who was foreign and considered uncultured (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2008:106); that is, one who did not speak, and more importantly, did not *think* like a Greek. For the Classical Greeks, and their predecessors, this difference was intellectual as much as it was religious.

Like Euphemios, Plato does not disavow the *theoi*. He, like all Athenians, observes the dedicated religious days and festivals. Athena's temple depicts the most important of these, the Great Panathenaia, whereupon the *demos* assembles at the Pompeion, the beginning of the Panathenaic Way, and proceeds to the summit of the Sacred Rock to present the great goddess with her annual *peplos*. Hurwitt (1999:56) states that though it was not necessary to climb the Sacred Rock for worship, many Athenians did so every day. Primarily a place of worship, free access was necessary to those wishing to make an

offering; gateways and temple doors were always open (Hurwitt, 1999:56). The ascent of the poet and the philosopher evokes this customary approach to understanding and maintaining the role of *archai* and the fourfold. Yet it also leads to a new form of higher plane. In the Acropolis Dialogue the poet suggests that a more profound understanding of the origin and role of *archai* has been revealed on his journey to the Acropolis to visit his ancestor's tomb.

The constructed landscapes of Plato's own writings speak of *theoi* on one page, and the Forms on another, and, through analogy, bring together the 'opposing' ideas that are represented by myth and by philosophy in the 4th century BC (Tarnas 2010:15). In the Dialogues Plato speaks of ideas that are, in many ways, far removed from the Archaic view of the Athenian constructed landscape; they are still bound to nature and to myth and to the unity and harmony of *archai* of the past as Glacken asserts

The idea that there is a unity and a harmony in nature is probably the most important idea ... even if among them [the Greeks] there was no unanimity regarding the nature of this unity and harmony (1967:17).

In Plato's *Republic*, for example, his *polis* is an expression of unity, albeit under an authoritative guardianship of "reluctant philosophers" (trans. Desmond Lee, 2007:65) and in his *Timeaus*, Plato writes of *archai*, and of harmony through them (Lee, 1977:10).

Euphemios has presented the traditional system of thought through his interpretation of these themes. He is revealing the historical origins and continuity of myth in Athens, and, by inference, the older traditional poetry of the Epic and Lyric poets of greater Greece. Greek myth has its origins in and beyond its own landscape. Conflating native Mycenaean and Minoan divinities with others from Asia Minor, the Archaic Greeks fashioned narratives that reflected their own emerging culture (Rogers, 2001:61). Dowden observes "[t]he landscape reflects mythic history, and mythic history defines the landscape" (1992:122)

and in The Acropolis Summit Dialogue Euphemios speaks of “the seeds of *archai* planted by the oldest gods and goddesses before even [his] ancestors’ time”. Thus, the constructed landscapes of gods and mortals, dwelling and cultivation are perpetuated because of this continuity. In this Dialogue, Euphemios responds to Plato’s summary of *archai* claiming “the garden of the fourfold continues to flourish through analogy while the siting of the temple orientates the vision of the fourfold. This is the *archai*, not of the architect, but of the gardener.” Embedded here (and within the constructed landscape of the rest of the Dialogues) are recurring tropes, ‘vision’ and ‘sight’ being but two. The wordplay on ‘siting’ suggests location but also (in the context of the other tropes) a visual abstraction. ‘Orientation’ suggests a direction but also a positioning in relation to something. The ‘vision’ is the manifestation of the *theoi* through the cultivation and dwelling of *archai*. Implicit in Euphemios’ words is that the orientation of the Self in relation to the landscape is as important as the siting and orientation of the temple in the landscape. Topography in a “spirit-charged natural world” determined the location of temples and their precincts as “nature and divinity were inextricably fused; landscape was experienced religiously rather than aesthetically” (Rogers, 2001:62-3). Whereas the poet here employs the trope of ‘vision’ in response to the metaphor of ‘sight’ used by Plato, the philosopher, in turn, employs the term *eidos*, his own trope of a Greek word to describe his Forms (Tarnas, 2010:6). While the philosopher’s theories on *archai* are premised on *eidos* and the rationalisation of his architect, (intellectual concepts not yet developed in the time of the early 6th century Athenian *archon*, Solon) the vision of the earlier writers was formed by the belief in the highest authority of the *theoi*.

As the poet speaks of the fourfold, similarly, too, the philosopher speaks of the architect. When Plato summarises the journey from the Pompeion to the Acropolis summit, and speaks of the temple, the *polis*, and the house, he is describing the nested concept-

constructs of the elements that are the physical, tangible manifestations of the invisible Forms of *archai*. The Platonic architect is Mind asserting itself over vision, idea over image, thereby compelling form to be subordinate to the Form. For Plato, the mental image is constructed from within and governed by thought, not by perception drawn from beyond the Mind's own eye.

Plato's analogy is designed to illustrate his proposition that the concept-construct of the architectural is directly related to the models of the Forms, which, in turn, are directly related to *archai* and the architect. He draws the analogy together to include the Self as an element of the *polis*, thereby establishing a set of macro- and micro- interrelationships that are bound by *archai* and, consequently, by Platonic *ethos*. This trajectory of Greek thought is followed, in the subsequent Dialogues, through the eyes and ears of these two Athenians, one on the verge of manhood, though not yet established in society, and the other, elderly and well-recognised. The allusion to Aristotle is a gesture towards him as Plato's pupil and successor in the development of Western philosophy. Aristotle's voice is not heard in the Dialogues but his own position is unambiguous. In his *Metaphysica*, Aristotle states that "[b]y form I mean the essence of each thing" (Philip Weiner 1974:15). Clearly, Greek enquiry into what constitutes 'form' does not stop upon Plato's death in 347 BC; however, it is beyond the scope of the parameters of this discourse to further pursue Aristotle's thoughts on *archai*.

Premised on the six *archai*, the *logos* of the Archaic Greeks develops into the Classical foundations of Western systems of thought on *archai* through which the concept-construct of the architectural is revealed. That the poet and philosopher approach the concept-construct of the architectural from different perspectives in the Dialogues reinforces the two temporal referents that frame the discourse, from the late 6th century to the middle of

the 4th century BC, albeit with a panoramic view to the Homeric and Hesiodic past. Within these landscapes, myth and philosophy are most poetically intertwined, the most significant academic shifts occur, and the role of poetry as a form of intellectual expression is being superseded by the role of prose. Euphemios has, says Plato, “cultivated Athena’s gift well” and is invited to the Academy. When Plato also says, figuratively, the “younger trees in my garden might benefit” he is acknowledging that, while their opinions differ, the poet’s ability to explore and debate new ideas is grounded in an intellectual integrity that accompanies reason – though it is not yet Platonic reasoning.

In his final rejoinder to Euphemios, who has asked the philosopher why he has come to the Acropolis, Plato departs with the line “I simply like the views”. A trope on the intellectual discourse, Pan takes his final cue to tease the reader with two aphorisms and a self-referential pun. The tree and temple are metaphors for Athena’s attributes as the goddess of *metis* (intelligence and ingenuity) and *techne* (skill) (Hurwitt, 1999:15). Moreover, it is how *metis* and *techne* facilitate the perpetuation of *archai*. The Way is thus the what, why and how of the interlocutors’ *ethos*.

9.4 The Eleusinion in the City Dialogue Analysis

A site of religious and civic importance, the Eleusinion in the City is so named to differentiate it from the sanctuary located near the Sacred Way at Eleusis. Along with the sanctuary of the Parthenon and Theseion, it is regarded as the most venerable of sanctuaries in Athens (ASCSA, 1962: 92). An elevated site, its temple is visible from the Sacred Way (the road between Delphi and Athens) as it approaches Athens from the northwest (John Travlos, 1971:198). Members of the annual Panathenaic Procession carrying the wooden ship displaying Athena’s sacred garment, the *peplos*, ‘dropped anchor’ here and ascended on foot to the Acropolis summit with the robe. (ASCSA,

1962:95; Mitchell Carroll, 1907:248). The Eleusinion in the City is a site for pilgrimage, for assembly, for renewal. In this Dialogue the act of annual renewal is embodied in the statue of Demeter and the red poppies of which the poet speaks. Like the walled sanctuary itself, the Dialogue is a microcosm of the greater constructed landscape of the thesis.

Having found respite from the afternoon sun in the deep shade of the sanctuary of the Eleusinion in the City, Euphemios, at the request of Plato, elaborates on the fourfold and the trope of the garden. For the poet, the *archai* of cultivating the landscape is no less important than the *archai* of constructing the polis, so, beginning with an analogy of the macro- and microcosmic, the poet first speaks of the physical elements of the broader landscape beyond the literal and figurative garden wall. Outside the *polis* walls are the gardens and fields of its citizenry. Cultivated, and thus civilised, it is the realm of Demeter, giver of grain to Man, although it is inside the walled sanctuary, at the altar near the temple, that the goddess receives her dedications and tributes for a good harvest (Helmut Berve, 1963:10; Hornblower & Spawforth, 1998:633). Beyond the cultivated fields is the landscape of the untamed forces of nature where goatherds tend their animals on the slopes of the surrounding ranges. Gods here, like Pan, for example, are less cultivated and more pastoral – even wild.

Rivers and mountains and forests were themselves either the gardens or elements of gardens wherein dwelt the gods and goddesses (Hobhouse, 2002:33-4; Berve, 1963:9). More than merely an abode, these landscape elements represented certain attributes and characteristics of the *theoi*, and thus needed to be managed with care and reverence (Thompson and Griswald, 1963:3). Euphemios is suggesting that this necessity is two-fold: that Man should be mindful of the natural environment, as it is a shared one, and that the well-being of Man is subject to the munificence of the various divinities who control the

wind, or the rain clouds, or the sun which warms the soil (Bowra, 1968:84). In other words, the garden of the gods needs to be nurtured for *all* elements of it to thrive. This is the *ethos* that the gardener speaks of.

Myth and poetry reveal that while early sanctuaries were connected to agrarian *theoi* (Sierlin, 2001:44), there were, as well, divinities that dwelt in and were worshipped in the forests and sacred woods. Certain trees were associated with a particular god or goddess. For example, the olive (*Olea* sp.) is associated with Athena; the oak (*Quercus* sp.) with her father, Zeus; the laurel (*Laurus nobilis*) is Apollo's tree; and the myrtle (*Myrtus communis*) belongs to Aphrodite. The bicoloured leaves of the white poplar (*Populus alba*) have special connotations associated with the living and the dead: the white upper leaves symbolise the Upper World, above ground, and the dark undersides symbolise the Underworld of Hades, who abducted Demeter's daughter Persephone, sometimes referred to as Kore. The fig (*Ficus carica*) is Demeter's gift to mortals (Thompson and Griswald, 1963:21-9) and its fruit has sustained the interlocutors on their daylong journey.

In this Dialogue the poet speaks of a period when, from the dark earth of Archaic Athens, the Self emerged, and, in relation to *archai*, was cultivated through the language of the landscape in written form. In Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, for example, the darkness of the earth becomes the lightness of the gardener through the unity of the cycle of life and death (trans. Fagles, 1977:71). As previously noted though, this began with the works of Homer and only a short time later, with the works of Hesiod c.700 BC. Though neither was an Athenian, each was nonetheless influential in Archaic and Classical Athens as well as further afield. Homer's retelling of a past Golden Age in *The Iliad* made very real a distant (though unverifiable) past, and reinforced the belief in the relationships between gods and mortals and the *ethos* of the hero to which all Greek men should aspire (Snell, 1971:13).

The constructed landscapes of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the first Western written evidence of *archai* being expressed, was known to both the poet and the philosopher. When Homer used the term chaos, he meant that which had to be ordered. This original meaning retained its currency throughout antiquity, though other figurative associations came into usage later (Wiener, 1974:6). The cultural *ethos* of *taxis* that Homer wrote of in the 8th century BC was as pervasive and inspirational to the Classical Greeks as it had been to the Archaic forebears of both Plato and Euphemios. Awareness of, and immersion in, a physical landscape, in which divine and mortal presence was expressed through a relationship with Nature, was reflected in the constructed landscapes of the Homeric vision (Tarnas, 2010:17). Similarly, Hesiod's poem *Works and Days*, extols the virtues of working with not only the environment, but also the divinities that share it with mortals (Dowden, 1992:10). Not an Athenian, but from neighbouring Boeotia, Hesiod had written of the origins of the world and the *theoi*, and of *archai*, about 350 years before the discourse between Plato and Euphemios; however, his words still carried weight in aspects of daily life in Athens in 355 BC.

Beginning to speak of the fourfold, Euphemios defers to the older, more authoritative voice of Hesiod, whose poetic interjection in this Dialogue evokes the essential nature of the fourfold in relation to the poet's *archai*. The ancient Boeotian poet speaks of reciprocal relationships between gods and mortals, and of dwelling and cultivation as tropes that paradoxically reinforce and yet, at the same time, transcend the intimate connection with the land (Bowra, 1968: 81). Hesiod claimed that the Muses, daughters of Zeus, taught him to sing: ... they pour[ed] sweet dew upon his tongue and out of his mouth flowed gentle words (Trypanis, 1971:114). Hesiod's spoken message from within the temple in this Dialogue to "work not against, but with Nature" sums up the *ethos* of the gardener, and, in this simple *ethos*, are reflected the six *archai* that Euphemios speaks of throughout the

Dialogues. Put simply, using Vitruvius' terms, the world of the gods and of man is 'ordered' through cultivation and through dwelling. The elements of the garden are so 'arranged' according to the disposition of natural forms and therein are found naturally occurring harmonious relationships. 'Propriety' is the domain of the attributes of Nature accorded by the *theoi*, and 'economy' is the care and stewardship of the resources of Nature. When the garden is nurtured in accordance with the fourfold it yields a form of 'symmetry', that is, the constructed landscape is an outward manifestation of an inner disposition, *ethos*. This is expressed through the language of the landscape.

Euphemios speaks of the Athenian landscape as having "its own elements and form, its own rhythm, its own pattern language". Landscape has its own vocabulary, its own cadence, and its own voice. As poetic tropes, the temple is also the house of language; in the garden are found the elements of its vocabulary. Thus, when Euphemios speaks of the garden and temple, the reference is to both the physical and the metaphysical form, though not in the Platonic sense. Whereas physical landscapes 'house' the fourfold, constructed landscapes contextualise the primacy of the fourfold in Greek concept-constructs. Vincent Scully suggests that the "landscape should therefore be regarded as the complement for all Greek life ... where the shape of human conception could be made at the landscape's scale" (1979:2). When the six *archai* are united, as a result of the actions of the fourfold, the Self is actualised and becomes an element of the garden, of the landscape. This differs from the later Platonic Self that emerges as an entity independent of the natural landscape and the *theoi*, but which is subject to the laws of the concept-construct of an idealised *polis*. In this Dialogue however, the poet is invoking the very distant past.

Notwithstanding the 4th century BC physical environment, Euphemios is recalling the mental image of ancient, unseen landscapes that the Epic poets, Homer and Hesiod, have created through their words. For him, these images are as real and as tangible as contemporary Athens itself. As Tarnas observes, “[t]he immediacy and freshness of the Homeric vision was paradoxically tied to a virtually conceptual understanding of the world governed by an ancient and venerable mythology” (2010:17). The Hesiodic vision, though, spoke of even older landscapes and *archai*. Finley writes

... mythology was a kind of language, and since Greek religion hinged not on doctrine but on act and cult, even the received tales about the gods could change as fresh insight prompted. But, chiefly, it was mythology that supplied a way of seeing reality in the full colour of the senses. The legendary stories showed men acting in a visible world and under pressing circumstances, yet were beyond the present in a realm where actions might be isolated and moral shapes stand clear. The mythology was wide enough – seemingly as wide as life itself – to include nearly all conceivable postures; it was in short, a form of human knowledge (1966:34-5).

In *Works and Days* Hesiod urges his feckless brother, Perses, to heed his parable on the good life of the good man, who, through working his land properly, will be “better loved by the immortals” (Hugh Evelyn-White, 2006:11). Hesiod advises when to plough, sow, reap and thresh “Demeter’s holy grain” (Evelyn-White, 2006:15) in accordance with the appearance of stars (the gardener’s cosmological calendar), but he also reminds Perses

[b]etween us and Goodness the gods have placed the sweat of our brows: long and steep is the path that leads to her, and it is rough at the first; but when man has reached the top, then she is easy to reach, though before that she was hard (Evelyn-White, 2006:10-11).

In this Dialogue, the route of The Way that the poet and the philosopher have travelled is approaching its steepest incline, and their journey has parallels in the ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing of Man cultivating the landscape. However, it is myth, not Platonic philosophy, which informs the poet, Euphemios’, understanding of the world and its origins. Poetry is the medium through which he has learned to listen to the language of the

landscape, and the dwelling of the gods and goddesses. For example, in Sophocles' work, the *theoi* are ever-present in his constructed landscapes, either explicitly or implicitly, and their divine purposes are exemplified.

For Sophocles, a breach of divine order in the world, an imbalance in the landscape through an act of Man, necessitates either punishment or restitution or, oftentimes, both. This occurs through a 'Discovery' that leads to a 'Reversal', and the revelation of the true Self (Bowra, 1968:178-80). Like his contemporaries, Sophocles drew on the broader landscape of myth as well as closer community events to tie *archai* and *ethos* to the *polis* and to the Self, to the outer and, more importantly, the inner world of Man. This is nowhere better exemplified in Sophocles' work than in his play, *Antigone*, (c.442 BC) whose central theme is mortal *hubris*, an offence against divine order and *archai*. Third in a trilogy, this play reflects Sophocles' "interest in primary principles" (Bowra, 1968:154) that are expressed through the views of the individual and the State, divine *archai* and mortal laws in relation to human action and religious thought. Finley argues that Euripides

seems to have missed Sophocles' ability to see things wholly by myth; he was attracted to the reasoning of the then rising sophists and was intoxicated by the possibility of reducing human situations to ideas, yet could not escape the grip of myth and wrote plays that are a curious hybrid of situation and concept (1966:56-7).

Embedded in myth and later in philosophy, *archai* have deep roots in the constructed landscapes of the Archaic and Classical Greek minds. In both forms of expression *taxis* is an overarching theme, and it is not until the emergence of the natural philosophies of the earliest Presocratics and the plays of Euripides that the separation of *theoi* and higher forms occurred in relation to *archai*. According to both Homer and Hesiod, the *theoi* intervene in everyday matters of the world, in daily life, in weather and in landscape, in ways that are beyond mortal comprehension. The Presocratics, rejecting this, "view the world as a *kosmos*, an ordered natural arrangement that is inherently intelligible and not

subject to supra-natural intervention” and that “just as the world is an ordered arrangement, so human knowledge of that world must be ordered in a certain way” (Curd, 2011:4). In Tarnas’ opinion

[i]n the various divinities and their powers lay a sense of the universe as an ordered whole, a cosmos rather than a chaos. The natural world and the human world were not distinguishable domains in the archaic Greek universe, for a single fundamental order structured both nature and society, and embodied the divine justice that empowered Zeus, the ruler of the gods (2010:17).

This is described in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, which reveals the mythical becoming of the cosmos and world, and then the gods and goddesses, and their divine unions. It tells how from Chaos, a “vague divine primordial entity or condition” the *theoi* are generated (Curd, 2001:3). Every divinity is attributed a part of the cosmic landscape thereby generating a cosmogony, albeit one where there is much infighting among the *theoi*. Eventually, hostilities are quelled by almighty Zeus who establishes and maintains divine order and then creates mortals who are subject to his authority. Divine intervention, either manifested as wrath or protection, is his prerogative (Curd, 2011:3). Man, not *theoi*, must atone for the transgressions between gods and mortals that have affected the *thematismos* in the constructed landscape; that is, the authority of the temple and the bond of the garden.

Hesiod is here planting a family tree of *theoi*, the importance of which cannot be underestimated in the Greek mind as a tool for tracing one’s own lineage (Dowden, 1992:61). This is demonstrated, for example, in Euripides’ play, *Ion*, where the eponymous central character discovers his own divine parentage. To Ion is also revealed the legacy of his as yet unborn sons and brothers. The goddess Athena appears and reveals to his mother

He shall be famous all over Greece; he shall have four sons ... they shall bear the glorious name Ionians. Moreover, you and Xuthus too shall have sons: first Dorus from whom shall spring the celebrated Dorian State; then

Achaeus, who shall be king of the sea-coast by Rhium in Peloponnese,
and set the seal of his name upon a nation (Euripides, trans. by Vellacott,
1954:80-1).

Ion also reinforces a lineage that reveals that *archai* are equally as sacred in Man's landscapes, be they physical or conceptual. In Book Six of the *Iliad*, Glaukos replies to Diomedes question regarding his lineage saying

Great-hearted son of Tydeus, why do you ask of my birth? The generation of men is just like that of leaves. The wind scatters one year's leaves on the ground, but the forest burgeons and puts out others, as the season of spring comes around. So it is with men: one generation grows on, and another is passing away. But if you want to hear of, and learn the history of my family, it is something that many men know (trans. Hammond, 1987:133).

Though not claiming to have a divine birthright through the union of a mortal and god or goddess, Euphemios relates that according to family tradition, he has a royal ancestor. Cecrops, said to be half-man, half-snake, is mythologised as the first earth-born king of Athens. Known as the autochthonous one, literally "sprung from the earth" (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2008:88), this epithet was adopted by the earliest Athenians to reinforce their origin narratives and claim to the land. This lineage descends to the legendary hero-ruler, Theseus, whose most important contribution to Athens is celebrated in the annual *Synoikia*, a festival which established and consolidated the Athenian identity, and thereby reinforced *archē* and the concept-construct of *polis* and citizen as being fundamentally interrelated (Dowden, 1992:86-7). While Cecrops did not invent the six *archai* the poet and the philosopher speak of, he did introduce civic institutions, whose premises were to ensure the unity of the *archai* through the fourfold (Dowden, 1992:86). An important divine connection associated with Cecrops is the account that he witnessed the planting of the first olive tree on the Acropolis by Athena after she won a contest against Poseidon to become divine patron of the then fledgling *polis*. The earliest literary evidence for this account comes from Herodotus writing in 440 BC, therefore the 'witnessing' took place about a thousand years earlier than recorded. Reputedly, the very

same tree was burned by the invading Persians in 480 BC and grew anew, sprouting a cubit-long shoot that appeared the next day, and was attributed the favour of the divine goddess herself (Hurwitt 1999:32).

Athena's gift to Athens was perpetuated through a gardener who took scions and transplanted them beyond the Athenian *polis* walls, at the site of the Academy. In this Dialogue, Plato acknowledges to Euphemios "there grow in the sanctuary by the Academy, twelve trees, called the sacred *moria*" which, since the introduction of the competition events of the Panathenaia in 566 BC by Solon's successor, Peisistratos, provided the oil for the winners' prizes (Travlos, 1971:42). The sacred olive tree symbolises "[t]he past, both historical and mythical... [and] continues to live in the landscape of the present" (Dowden, 1992:123). Once again, history and philosophy are grafted onto the rootstock of myth and transplanted in the constructed landscape.

The poet uses the trope of transplanting to exemplify the continued propagation of the fourfold in the Athenian mind. This propagation is embedded in this Dialogue by locating the poet and philosopher in Demeter's sanctuary. Also dedicated to her daughter, Persephone, and to Triptolemos, Demeter represents the cycle of birth, growth, death and renewal and this is encapsulated by Euphemios' observation in this Dialogue of the as yet unfurled petals of a red poppy (*Papaver rhoeas*). He says: "Through veneration, that is, dwelling and cultivation, the continuance of the fourfold is assured and, similarly, this flower". As tropes, these extend beyond the horticultural to the beliefs and knowledge of the poet and the philosopher.

That the philosopher seeks refuge from the sun-shower in the temple and the poet under a tree canopy, further underscores the analogies each has consistently employed in their

respective arguments: the temple is the construct of the architect, and the tree, as an element of the broader natural landscape, is cultivated by the gardener. Whereas Plato envisages the *polis* and, therefore, the Self as expressions of the architect manifested through the exemplar of the Form of the temple, which he spoke of in the Acropolis Dialogue, Euphemios views the *polis* and the Self differently, though for both a form of reproduction conveys the mental image of these concept-constructs. For the philosopher, the reproduction of the image of the temple is merely the imperfect copy of an eternal Form. For the poet, the red poppy and the seeds of *archai* are perpetuated through reproduction in nature. The dichotomy between myth and philosophy, belief and knowledge is diverse in character and expression, these being the two extremes of the Dialogues. Moreover, as Tarnas notes

... this pluralism in the Hellenic inheritance was further expressed in the continuing dichotomy between, on the one hand, Greek public religion, with its *polis* festivals and civic rituals focused on the major Olympic deities, and, on the other, the widely popular mystery religions – Orphic, Dionysian, Eleusian – whose esoteric rites drew on pre-Greek and Oriental religious traditions: death-rebirth initiations, agricultural fertility cults, and worship of the Great Mother Goddess (2010:16).

The poet views aspects of constructed landscapes through the eyes of a lineage of Greek poets and Athenian playwrights, through old Heroic and Visionary narratives. Susan Alcock argues that these “[h]uman landscapes provided the broad physical framework that shaped communal experience” (2002:31), an important element of the *polis’ ethos*. Unlike the citizens of Plato’s ideal *polis* in his *Republic*, Euphemios, while observing divine law, thinks for himself. When, in this Dialogue, Plato speaks of being “counselled by the wise”, suggesting a general deference to the rationalism of philosophers on all things, the poet interjects, purposefully making his point that there is also a place in the collective psyche of Athenians for individualism, for “thinking for one’s self”. He is interpreting the world and Man’s place in it through the intertwining of wild flowers and the cultivated tropes of the gardener.

In the final line of this Dialogue, Pan alludes to the position of the Eleusinion in the City in relation to the Sacred Rock and the Way that stretches out below him, reminding the reader that the views from the sanctuary and the summit are distant yet near, that the path of The Way lies behind, and in front of, the poet and the philosopher.

9.5 The Water Clock Dialogue Analysis

A naturally occurring source of water within the urban *polis* affords a meeting place, a point of exchange for citizens and travellers alike. One such place is the Water Clock, located in the southwest corner of the Agora. This corner site is also the point at which several intra-*polis* roads enter the Agora. It is a node. That the poet and philosopher continue their dialogue at this site is no coincidence. As a node, the Water Clock is a literal and figurative timing device. Turning back the clock, a number of Presocratic voices are heard, beginning with Thales who posits water as the *archai* of all else. Depending on one's orientation in this constructed landscape, the southwest corner is either a point of convergence or divergence, of what has been spoken or that which has yet to be spoken of.

Towards the end of the 6th century BC, scholars of the Greek world, most notably from Elea, a Greek colony in what is now southern Italy, as well as from cities in Ionia on the west coast of Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey) and the island of Samos off its coast (Peter Levi, 1982:152-3), were transforming their geographical observations into theories on nature and the world. Considered the fathers of natural philosophy, (Melchert, 1995:7) these were the first Western thinkers to 'map' the world and its landscapes in myriad *syntagmata* of universe and earth, environment and man, nature and the divine.

The first Greek natural philosophers whose voices are heard in the Water Clock Dialogue were not from Athens although their works spanning the early 6th to the early 5th centuries BC were certainly known there. It is Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, in the mid-5th century BC, who has the distinction of being the first to bring philosophy to Athens (Barnes, 2001: 186) and who is heard in The Kolonos Agoraios Dialogue. All of these early philosophers sought to comprehend, through *archai*, the 'true' origin behind natural phenomena (Curd, 2011:3). In attempting to understand the Self in relation to the world, they sought "divine principles at work in nature" (Rogers, 2001:58) which was now viewed as 'nature itself', not as an entity beyond the reality of the physical and observable world. Whereas Greek thinkers had previously conceived of origins of *archai* and expressed them through mythology, the Presocratics began to view phenomena through logic rather than belief alone. From the Greek *phainomenon* 'a thing appearing to view', based on *phainein* 'to show' (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2008:1076), the concept of truths being revealed through the light of reason as opposed to blind faith changed the landscape of the fourfold which had dominated the geography of the Greek mind for centuries. Presocratic systems of thought subsumed the primal belief systems still entrenched in the practices of Athenian religion and in the collective *polis ethos*, however rational, even scientific, thought did not displace the central role of nature in religion and *ethos*, and thus religion was "still firmly embedded in the matrix of nature" (Rogers, 2001:61).

Hitherto universally believed by the Greeks to be created by the earliest *theoi*, the cosmic realm was subsequently considered by these early philosophers to be composed of, and originating from, water, air, fire and earth (Tarnas, 2010:20), which were elemental to the expression of *archai* in all things. *Archai* also found new expression through the constructed landscapes of the poets writing in the late 6th century and the early 5th century BC. It is from these sources, too, that one can understand shifts in the collective Greek

consciousness. The poems of Semonides, Callinus, Tryteaus and, later, Solon are indicative of a new form in which the Self emerged on a more personal level within a broader platform of a socio-cultural and, or, a political agenda (Bowra, 1968:94). From the diversity of works that began with Homer and Hesiod in the 8th century, to the anonymous writers of the Hymns in the 7th and the Elegiacs was drawn a 'world map' by the first philosophers. Based on new observations and rational explications of them, the archaic Greeks formed their notions about the structure of the earth. Later, in the 3rd century BC, Eratosthenes of Cyrene introduced a term to describe this form of study. He called it *geographia* (James Romm, 1992:10). At the time of the Presocratics, however, it was considered natural philosophy (Barnes, 2001:9).

In the 6th century BC, when the earliest Greek thinkers began to speculate about the world in relation to the cosmos, the world was still the earthly garden of the *theoi* however; its progenitor was not anthropomorphic but matter of an entirely different form. Whereas the world had been hitherto spoken of as Great Mother Earth, it was instead spoken of in proto-scientific objective terms. The cosmos was not simply *ouranos*, the heavenly realm of divinities unknowable to mortals, but was now intelligible through the rationalisation of the observable world. Perceptions and views had changed direction, from past Homeric horizons to ones of the present and future, yet the poets of this period still wrote in anthropomorphological terms. Stesichorus' poem *The Setting Sun*, for example, demonstrates this

The sun, the child of Hyperion, was descending into the golden bowl to cross the Ocean and reach the depths of holy night, to his mother [Theia personification of *aether*], his lawful wife and his dear children. And the son of Zeus [Apollo] went on foot to the grove, which was deeply shaded by laurels [the tree sacred to Apollo] (trans. Trypanis, 1971: 154).

In the Dialogues, it is the arc of the sun's trajectory from east to west over the course of the journey that represents the temporal shift from Homer to the Plato. It is midday when

Plato and Euphemios pause at the Water Clock in the Agora for refreshments and 'overhear' the arguments of a number of Presocratic philosophers. Chronologically, the term 'Presocratic' is not accurate, as the last philosophers of this era were contemporaries of Socrates, and even Plato (Curd, 2011:2). Socrates would philosophise with his friend, Simon the Shoemaker, who would later become the first man to write Socratic dialogues (Lang, 1978:14) and whose premises were very near the Water Clock. Since most Presocratic thinkers only wrote one 'book', usually in the form of poetic prose, knowledge of their theories is incomplete and is only known to us vicariously through *testimonia* of later philosophers, historians, and commentators, who may or may not have had direct access to these 'books' (Curd, 2011:2). At the same time as these shifts in constructed landscapes were occurring, the transformation of the *theoi* into allegorical manifestations of *ethos* began. For example, Athena became military prowess, Apollo became reason and Demeter's association with renewal through fertility came to refer to fertility beyond the agricultural sense (Rogers, 2001: 58). As well, one Presocratic, Empedocles, employed allegory to bridge the mythic and scientific models, attributing to the four elements names of *theoi*: Hades became *ge*, Hera became *aer*, Nestis was *hudor*, while Zeus, and sometimes Hephaistos, represented *pyr* (Dowden, 1992:41). The old cosmogony was being subsumed into a new cosmology.

As the stars in the night sky orientated the sailor so too did they orientate the Greek scholar. Navigating this cosmic landscape in the late 6th century BC, Thales of Miletus developed many 'philosophico-scientific' doctrines. He is, however, most recognised for his theory that water is the *archē* of all things (Barnes, 2001:9). It is from water in the reservoir of the Water Clock that his voice emerges and is heard by the poet and the philosopher in the Dialogues. Before either Euphemios or Plato can comment another voice interjects, then another, and so on, until Empedocles has spoken. Following the

example in The Water Clock Dialogue, the observations of the collective theories on *archai* by the speakers continues here uninterrupted by either poet or philosopher.

Thales, one of the so-called Seven Sages of Greece, left no writing about his thoughts, save for *Nautical Astronomy*, so all reports of his views are from later sources (Barnes, 2001:9). Aristotle, suggests Curd, thought Thales was an inquirer into nature and this “distinguishes him from earlier poetical myth-makers” (2011:5). Aristotle also attributed to Thales the title of “father of natural philosophy” (Barnes, 2001:11). He reasoned that Thales

perhaps came to acquire this belief from seeing that the nourishment of everything is moist and that all hot things come from water and live by water ... and because the seeds of all things have a moist nature, and water is the natural principle of moist things (Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 983b6-11, 17, in Barnes, 2001:11).

Thales may have also believed that, as an *archē*, water had an innate capacity for motion that enabled generation and transformation and would cause the movement and rotation of the stars and planets. He viewed nature as a complete and self-ordering system, and believed that there was no reason to call on divine intervention from outside the natural world to supplement his account – water itself may be divine, but it is not something that intervenes in the natural world from outside. (Curd, 2011:5-6) His pupil disagreed. According to Simplicius, Anaximander said “that the indefinite (*apeiron*) is both principle (*archē*) and element (*stoicheion*) of the things that are, and he was the first to introduce this name of the principle” (*Commentary on Aristotle’s Physics* 24, in Curd, 2011:7). From Anaximander’s one text, of which only a single fragment remains, comes his proposition that

... the origin of things is in the illimitable. It is the source of their existence to which in the end they return as ordained by the law of necessity: for they are answerable to, and must atone for, offending against the just decrees of time (Jurgen Lawrenz, n.d:39).

The temporal nature of the world, the seasons, the heavenly rotations and the mortality of Man form a systematic and ordered landscape in which the world, the cosmos, and mortals are not dominated by the laws of the *theoi* but by the laws of time. For Anaximander, it is difference rather than sameness, in the form of opposites, which regulates what is destroyed and then renewed (Curd, 2011:7).

The term Anaximander gave the 'indefinite' or 'illimitable' is *apeiron*, from the Greek term *peras*, meaning boundary. In his mind this was not a physical boundary, but the limits of knowledge, the edge of thought itself. Anaximander sought the formless, the *unbounded*, the *atemporal* and the *nonspatial* in which the limits were extant but as yet unknown. His idea arose from his doubts about *archai* having form. Lawrenz (n.d.:59) argues that Anaximander's proposition poses a fundamental Presocratic philosophical problem in that the *apeiron* has no form, as, for the ancient Greeks, form implied intelligibility, that is, something that can be rationalised. While this is true, it is beyond the scope of the discourse in this thesis, which does not interrogate the veracity, or otherwise, of the philosophies put forward by the Presocratics. Ultimately, Anaximander's concept of *apeiron* was rejected by subsequent Greek philosophers on the very grounds that Lawrenz identifies. His own pupil, Anaximenes, claimed that the *archē* was limitless air but that it did have form and was ever in motion. This motion necessitated change. When moist, air was invisible; however, when condensed it became wind, when compressed it became rain, and when even more condensed it became earth. Conversely, when it became rarefied it became fire. Thus, moisture and motion, coldness and heat were the attributes of Anaximenes' *archē*. For him

the earth is flat and rides on air ... heavenly bodies have come into being from earth ... Lightning occurs when clouds are parted by the force of winds, for when they part a bright and fiery flash occurs. Rainbows are produced when the sun's rays fall upon compacted air, earthquakes when

the earth is considerably altered by heating and cooling (Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* I vii 1-8 in Barnes, 2001:25).

Some years after Anaximenes, Heraclitus, in continuing the enquiries into the nature of the physical world, also offered an alternative explanation of cosmology. Heraclitus believed that “[t]his cosmos did none of the gods or men make, but it always was and is and shall be; an ever-living fire, kindling in measures and going out in measures” (Wiener, 1974:7). For Heraclitus, his *archē*, fire, is not only an element but also a process. It is the “agency by which elements are transformed from one material to another” (Lawrenz, n.d.:88). Heraclitus also claims “just as fire is always changing and always the same, so [it is] with the *logos* that embodies the order and rules all things” (Curd, 2011:11). The aphoristic style and paradoxes of Heraclitus made interpretation difficult for his fellow philosophers but, although accused by Plato of incoherence, his propositions remained important in the context of knowledge and the enquiry into the nature of things. Heraclitus goes further than his predecessors and questions the nature of enquiry itself. He claimed that there is an eternal *logos* and that “wisdom is speaking the truth and acting with knowledge in accordance with nature” (Barnes, 1001:57). For Heraclitus the order of the cosmic landscape is akin to language, though only those attuned to it can hear and read it. For him perception is important but intellectual enquiry is necessary. When speaking of the enquiry into the natural world Heraclitus claimed that he “enquired into himself” (Curd, 2011:12). This interplay of macro- and microcosms is exemplified in Heraclitus’ notion of the Self and the *polis*, the world and the cosmos. Through his capacity to rationalise, Man can ultimately come to know the *logos* and understand this relationship in the greater landscape of Heraclitus’ two worlds, for beyond the visible world of flux is another, an unchanging one, according to Heraclitus, and, hence, there is, for him, no contradiction on mutability and immutability.

For Parmenides, however, mutability, or transformation, is an illusion. What is, *is* and always has been. That which is not, cannot *be*. Regardless of whatever a 'thing' *is*, some quality remains when the 'thing' undergoes transformation. For example, water may pass through solid, liquid and vaporous phases without losing its intrinsic nature (Lawrenz, n.d:99). Similarly, a tree in bud in Spring, in leaf in Summer, coloured in Autumn and bare in Winter still retains its essential form, that of 'tree'.

Parmenides produced one short poem divided into two sections – *Way of Truth* and *Way of Opinion*. These advanced two paradoxical views, the first claiming to be a true account of the reality of nature, the second a false, or 'deceitful', account of the same topic (Barnes, 2011:77-8). The poem, written in the first person, tells of a 'truth' that was imparted by a goddess to a young man. The goddess does not divulge knowledge of a thing but gives the young man the tools to acquire it. She teaches him that evaluating the merits of an argument on rational logic is the true *logos*, and, according to Parmenides, when true knowledge is attained it is made known to the individual through a divine sign (Curd, 2011:12). In his poem Parmenides argues that what is, *is*, and describes the criteria and arguments to demonstrate this, as, for example, in Barnes (2001:82) he is quoted

One story, one road, now
is left: that it is. And on this side there are signs
aplenty that, being, it is ungenerated and indestructible,
Whole, of one kind and unwavering, and complete.
Nor was it ever, nor will it be, since now it is, all together,
one, continuous.

Empedocles' also wrote two poems, *On Nature*, and *Purifications*. It is the first that is important in this discourse in relation to what Empedocles has said in the Water Clock Dialogue. *On Nature* claims that everything comprises four material elements, which Empedocles calls roots, and which are moved by two opposing forces. The elements are water, air, fire and earth, and the forces are Love and Strife. Equally balanced and eternal,

the forces, like the moon, wax and wane. The concepts of Becoming, Being and not-Being are also explained through this process. "The many elements come together and blend under the agency of Love, and they are driven apart by Strife, in a continual alternation" (Richard Parry, 2005:3) giving rise to an ordered world and mortal life. The world is at the centre of Empedocles' cosmos, and is surrounded by water that, in turn, is enveloped in a layer of air. At the edge of this layer is fire in the form of the sun. Importantly, in Empedocles' theory, the elements are proportional to each other (Parry, 2005:2-5).

Empedocles does not explicitly distinguish thought from perception and, therefore, neither does he distinguish between reason and vision, though he does explain his concept of perception. Empedocles compares "the eye to a lantern. In the lantern the flame is shielded by a linen screen but the light still goes through the linen. So the eye has a membrane through which the flame within the eye goes" Parry (2005:6). Empedocles saw real life as he saw real nature

Nature, then, is ruled by the very same principles that are the key to understanding the drama of the ethical life, as Empedocles represents that. Understanding how nature works, one will want to side with Love and not Strife – especially, one will want to avoid the shedding of blood, that whereby we think and perceive, the very principle of conscious life (Parry, 2005:7)

This point, above all else, reflects Empedocles' pursuit of an *ethos* through *archai*. His vision, so to speak, is one of the Self and the greater landscape existing in a reciprocal partnership. Empedocles believed that one's *ethos* and how it was practised were equally important as one's theoretical orientation. For him the two were integral aspects of his one *logos*. Curd (2011:18) summarises this: "The correct philosophical understanding of the physical world and the correct way to live cannot be separated from one another in Empedocles' thought; one cannot fully understand the world without living correctly." As both a poet and a natural philosopher, Empedocles drew on the traditional themes to write his poem *On Nature*. Thus the mytho-poetic form is infused with a 'scientific' outlook to

describe becoming of the world through *archai* and the four elements of the garden of the *theoi* and mortals.

After the voices have subsided into the well of the past, Euphemios asks Plato to offer his thoughts on the Presocractic theories. Except for aspects of Heraclitus' and Parmenides' work, such as the Many and the One respectively, and Empedocles' thoughts regarding *archai* and *ethos*, the philosopher rejects the others in their entirety. However, Plato's own interpretation of the origins of *archai* is a conflation of earlier ideas, which is then shaped into the Forms. He adopted Parmenides' ideas about distinguishing between Being and Becoming, and between true knowledge and opinion (Curd, 2011:14), and Heraclitus' reconciliation between mythic and philosophical models, and his position regarding the relationship between mortal law and divine law, in which divine law is the higher authority of the two (Dowden, 1992:40). Plato has expanded on Empedocles, who built on the Parmenidean landscape while developing a cosmological model that addressed his own views about the *ethos* of the Self and the *polis* (Curd, 2011:16), and this is demonstrated throughout the Dialogues.

In this Dialogue, Plato explains to Euphemios his refutation of the earlier Greek thinkers through his analogy of the "construction of these workers' houses in relation to the temple of the architect and the singular role of *archai*". By extension, he is here also referring to his concept-construct of the architectural. House and *ethos* must, therefore, be constructed with integrity and *archai*. The physical form of both embodies the conceptual Form. The change from an external ordering system to an internal one is reflected in the works of the Athenian poets and playwrights of the time who depicted the changing relationships between gods and mortals, and, by extension, the *theoi* in relation to the world and the *polis*. As Tarnas observes, "myths were the living body of that meaning,

constituting a language that both reflected and illuminated the essential processes of life” (2101:18). This pursuit of religious meaning and rational truth at the same time provided an important cornerstone for the development of Western culture. It also aids our understanding of the premium the Greeks put on geometry and harmonic proportion in architecture (Rogers, 2001:59), although the latter point is not discussed further in the Dialogues as it falls outside the scope of the discourse. Instead, as tropes, the ‘architect’ and ‘the architectural’ are employed by Plato to explore the six *archai* through the exemplars of the temple, the *polis* and the Self. Implicit in this constructed landscape is spatiality, expressed in the Dialogues, through the metaphors of time and motion.

Relationships between *theoi* and mortals shifted and were realigned on different conceptual axes in the constructed landscapes of the Greek mind during the Archaic and subsequent Classical periods. Yet there was still a *topos* for Greek poetry and myth in the Greek and, especially the Athenian, mind. Plato’s *Timaeus*, a creation myth, describes the cosmic landscape constructed by the architect (the One) and therein he elucidates his theory of Being and Becoming in relation to the four elements and the six *archai* that are the subject the Dialogues. Wiener writes of a primordial chaos wherein space is still becoming and “the structure of this space unfolds not by itself but conjointly with the structure of matter, energy and other physical attributes” (1974:5) and this is exemplified in the *archai* of Plato’s architect in *Timaeus*.

Plato begins the dialogue with Socrates who, wishing to broaden an earlier philosophical discussion, asks the speaker, Timaeus, to recount the origins of the universe, the world and its inhabitants in relation to *archai*. Although lengthy, due to its importance to the discourse I have used a contraction of a section of dialogue from Lee’s translation to exemplify Timaeus’ speculations on *archai*. Timaeus says the godhead

finding the visible universe in a state not of rest but of inharmonious and disorderly motion, reduced it to order from disorder ... [and] placed water and air between fire and earth, and made them so far as possible proportional to one another, so that air is to water as water is to earth; and in this way he bound the world into a visible and tangible whole. So by these means and from these four constituents the body of the universe was created to be at unity owing to its proportion; in consequence it acquired concord ... The construction of the world used up the whole of these four elements ... [and] a suitable shape for a living being that was to contain within itself all living beings would be a figure that contains all possible figures of itself. Therefore he turned it into a rounded spherical shape ... [I]t was designed to supply its own nourishment from its own decay and to comprise and cause all processes, as its creator thought it was better for it to be self-sufficient than dependent on anything else (1977:42-6).

Herein are the four elements and the *archai* that constitute the world and, ultimately, the Self, for the Self cannot exist without them. The godhead, the architect of the universe, designs according to certain *archai* to ensure the self-sufficiency of the creature. Constrained by the materials at hand (the four elements), the godhead uses reason and ingenuity to forge form, and thus meaning, from the material of necessity. Where no *taxis* previously existed, or any *eurhythmia* or *symmetria* (articulated as proportion), the godhead creates order and contrives a concordance between elements. This is expressed by the *diathesis*, or manifestation, of the nature of the elements of the world, through which it becomes the self-sufficient model for all else. The architecture of the body of the world is thus conceived in the Mind of the godhead.

Though the Presocratics, and then Plato, had developed a philosophical rather than a mythological approach to understanding the world, myth and religion were still considered important in the Greek cosmic narrative (Rogers, 2010:58). Tarnas suggests that

whatever their immediate inspiration, these prototypical scientists made the remarkable assumption that an underlying rational unity and order existed within the flux and variety of the world, and established for

themselves the task of discovering a simple fundamental principle, or *arche*, that both governed nature and composed its basic substance (2010:19).

Pan encapsulates the Dialogue with a quip about the Presocratic worldview. It is worth noting that his continued presence in these Dialogues reinforces the continued belief in 355 BC of the existence of the gods and goddesses and their role in myth and poetry, and even philosophy.

9.6 The Kolonos Agoraios Dialogue Analysis

Less imposing than the Acropolis, but nevertheless a landmark, is the hill known as the Kolonos Agoraios whose name indicates its proximity to the Agora. It bounds the western side of the public space and is therefore an edge. By having the philosopher and the poet take the Synedrion steps and then walk up the hill slope they move, physically and conceptually, from public to sacred space. Accordingly, spatial, temporal, visual and semantic relationships shift from one plane to another. Being an elevated site one is able to view, from the plateau, the Agora's topographical form as a series of tropes, for example, the Eleusinion in the City as *themastismos*, the Water Clock as *eurhythmia* and the Stoas and the Altar as divine and mortal *taxis*. The Kolonos Agoraios itself functions as a poetic trope - *diathesis* - as much as it does a natural vantage point. It affords the poet and the philosopher a prospect of their respective landscapes in relation to *archai*: the poet's, ancient and venerated, the philosopher's, contemporary and intellectualised.

Within the *temenos* the poet and the philosopher both speak of deeper insights in relation to the constructed landscapes of the Athenians. The *temenos* is sacred to Hephaistos, god of the forge (and thus associated with fire as an agent of transformation), as well as the goddess Athena, as Athena Ergane, patroness of arts and crafts (Camp, 2003:12). "It was the sense of the indwelling spirit of the god – the god or goddess manifesting himself or

herself in a certain place – that made the site holy” (Rogers, 2001:62). The *temenos* and the temple of Hephaistos, built 449 - 444 BC (Travlos, 1971:261), represent the continued bond between gods and mortals, and myth and narrative. Homeric themes continue to be cultivated in the Greek landscape (Rogers, 2001:59) and serve as touchstones in the evolution of Greek thought. The eastern frieze of the temple, wherein Pan has secreted himself, is not merely a set of bas reliefs recalling the Labours of Heracles, but is testament to the historically complex relationship between the fourfold and Man (Stierlin, 2001:53). Therefore, its monumentality lies not only in its physical presence but, moreover, also in its mythological expression in relation to the site and the greater constructed landscapes of the citizens of Athens (Alcock, 2002:28).

Although this monumental form is not to be entered into, except by officiating priests, it does not dehumanise the landscape through scale (Martienssen, 1968:154). The larger-than-life bronze cult statues of Hephaistos and Athena by Alkemenes (Camp, 2003:12) reflect the *symmetria*; that is, the proportional relationship, between landscape and temple, *theoi* and Man. Herein is *eurhythmia*, the unity of dwelling and cultivation. The temple appears as a landmark of Man and at the same time reveals the presence of the *theoi* in a particular landscape. This does not, however, presuppose a fixed meaning for either. It is demonstrated throughout the Dialogues that the importance and meaning of temple and landscape are different for Euphemios and for Plato and that for each they represent what is considered to be, in the 4th century BC, either a traditional or contemporary view.

This Dialogue opens with Plato asking Euphemios to speak further about the fourfold in relation to *archai* whereupon the poet demonstrates his argument through what he terms the “tangible relationship between two forms, the temple and the form of these tree trunks” in the nearby grove which is distinguished from a sanctuary by the greater number of trees

and, by contrast, fewer buildings in the *temenos* (Patrick Bowe, 2009:1). In the Dialogue, suffused sunlight falls on the trunks of the trees and forms a rhythmic pattern of lightness and darkness. Similarly, in the temple, as Steirlin observes, the “ring of stone shafts forms a curtain – powerfully cadenced, but nevertheless see-through” (2001:41). Importantly, the earliest Greek temple structures of the 8th and 7th centuries BC were made of timber so the stone temple colonnade forms part of a visual language that hints at its antecedents (Stierlin, 2001:8). Euphemios also speaks of the language of the landscape as *logos* in which the temple is the trope of the fourfold. Together, the temple and the landscape form a whole in which the *logos* of the architectural is explicitly expressed (Scully, 1979:2), and, therefore, is the manifestation of *archai* through the tropes of dwelling and cultivation.

In response to Euphemios’ temple column/tree-trunk analogy, Plato elaborates on his theory of Form through *eidos*, that is, idea *and* form expressed together as a singular abstract model that is not perceptible but can be known only in the Mind that has realised its Truth through knowledge and philosophical enquiry (Tarnas, 2010:6). The form of the temple, he argues, is merely “the physical expression of a higher, intangible Form”. Tarnas writes that since “the Forms endure, while their concrete expressions come and go, the Forms can said to be immortal ... neither vulnerable to the passing of time nor touched by the transience of its particular manifestations” (2010:10). Critical to understanding Plato’s Forms, then, is that they are absolutes, unseeable, and that the worldly see-able forms are their “direct derivatives” (Tarnas, 2010:7). The Forms are archetypal and inherent in the word ‘Form’ is the concept of the ‘first principle’, though not in the Vitruvian context. Form, for Vitruvius, is tangible and ‘first principles’ are an expression of the perceptible.

Thought, an invisible ordering and structuring element of the mind, fuses together the world of the perceptible with the inner world of ideas and revealed itself in increasingly

more elaborate and complex forms in the 5th century BC. From Aeschylus to Anaxagoras, from Pindar to the Presocratics and from Solon to Sophocles, a shift occurred in constructed landscapes; that is, from simile to metaphor. Whereas in Homer's similes there was a distinct distancing of elements, metaphors bring together these worlds (Finley, 1966:29). The written word of poetic mytho-philosophy was challenged by, and eventually superseded by, the prose of reason (Rogers, 2001:58).

For hundreds of years before the 5th century BC, the *archai* of mortals and gods of Hellenic culture were presented in the physical form of the temple and *temenos*. Jaeger argues, "the Greeks always sought one Law pervading everything, and tried to make their life and thought harmonise with it" (in Martienssen, 1968:156). Through the constructed landscapes of the 5th century BC, Athenians attained a "delicate and fertile balance" (Tarnas, 2010:25) between accepted traditional myth and analytical theory through a new form of interpretation, that of the rational mind. The temple was the house of the mind as much as it was the house of the *theoi*. For Plato, in the Kolonos Agorios Dialogue, the house of the Mind is the "Being of *eidos*". He is about to elaborate on this point when, from the grove, comes the voice of Anaxagoras. According to Anaxagoras, Greek men

do not think correctly about coming-to-be and passing-away; for no thing comes to be or passes away, but is mixed together and dissociated from the things that are. And thus they would be correct to call coming-to-be mixing-together and passing-away dissociating (Curd, 2011:17).

Plato speaks to Euphemios of his disappointment in Anaxagoras' theory suggesting that the Becoming of which his Athenian predecessor spoke "did not grasp the truth of the subject". Curd asserts that both Plato and Aristotle were interested in Anaxagoras' thought but were disappointed that his theory did not go further and speculate on final causes, about which Aristotle, in particular, later wrote extensively (2011:17). It was, though, during the time of Anaxagoras that the branch of rational thought that was grafted onto the

rootstock of perception in the previous generation of thinkers began to bear fruit in its own right. Thus an earlier period of Greek thought reaches its end and a new form emerges.

The constructed landscapes of the Greeks in the 4th century BC became conceptual rather than figurative and were expressed through prose and not poetic verse, through analysis rather than merely myth. Aeschylus and Sophocles had retained the Homeric sense of the fourfold through mortality, *ethos* and *archai* as well as through the analogies of the world, the *polis* and the Self, which revealed the complexity of “nature and divinity as yet intertwined” (Tarnas, 2010:58). Whereas “Aeschylus and Sophocles spoke for the older outlook that saw things through shape; Socrates and Thucydides [spoke] for the nascent mind that saw them through idea” (Finley, 1966:35). *Historia* as a means of recording actual events first hand had emerged from the garden of the fourfold. Of Thucydides’ work, Finley claims a first flowering of the Greek consciousness of objectivity regarding mortals and their ideas in relation to their actions in their constructed landscapes, that is, in-situ observations of Man and his *ethos*. In the Dialogues, the poet and the philosopher observe this consciousness of objectivity but from differing outlooks in the landscape (1966:73).

In the constructed landscape of the Kolonos Agoraios, Plato alludes to the concept-constructs of Being and Becoming in relation to various theories proposed over the preceding two hundred and fifty years. In his own work, for example, *Timaeus*, Plato speaks of the Forms and makes

... the distinction between the ideal and the eternal (that which is existent always and has no becoming) and the real and the transitory (that which is becoming always and is never existent); the first is apprehended by thought and reasoning, the second is merely the object of opinion aided by unreasoning sensation (Glacken, 1967:44)

From the elevated site of the Kolonos Agoraios *temenos*, Plato looks across the Agora and speaks of the collective form of the temples below using the Form of the architect’s temple

to explicate his theory. While Martiensson is describing the work of the Greek architects between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC, when he says “[t]he variation in type and size and organisation that we see in Greek work is rather the rich pattern of application” (1968:154) it can be read as a commentary on both the development of the Agora, and also of the Greek mind in regard to philosophy and literature. Analogy becomes metaphor through Mind, not Vision, and Thought is given voice through *logos*. Rogers reasons that through Plato’s *Timaeus* there is a “spatially descriptive cosmological view” (2001:59) which reveals the importance of philosophical thought at the historical time of the Dialogues. This is revealed in the relationship between the architectural and the Self and through The Forms and the language of the landscape.

According to Plato, in the landscape of Euphemios’ fourfold “[t]he individual trees of the natural world eventually fall and rot away, but the archetypal Tree continues to express itself in and through other trees” (Tarnas, 2010:10). The Forms are, for Plato, both prescriptive and descriptive. This duality is essentially an objectification of *archai* and its role in cosmic and mortal landscapes, the *taxis* and *diathesis* of the elements of the *polis* and the Self. The Platonic architect is the manifestation of Mind and therefore “an order greater than himself” (Finley, 1966:96), and this is the crux of his own enquiry into *archai*.

For the poet, Euphemios, this order is the *logos* of the fourfold and of the landscape; temple, *temenos* and tree are not Being but Becoming. As mortals defer to the gods and goddesses, so, too, the temple defers to the language of the landscape. In the constructed landscape of this *temenos*, the temple of Hephaistos stands in clear contrast to the sky and the ranges surrounding the Athenian plain but, more importantly, the temple was conceived in relation to the arc of the sky and its metaphysical relationship to the hills. Man conceived and constructed this relationship between himself and the *theoi* but also

between himself and their garden. This was omnipresent in the Greek mind (Edith Hamilton in Scully 1979:2). Although each *temenos*, sanctuary and grove differs because of its location, site specific elements and form, “a deep general pattern runs through all sites, both in the chosen shapes of their landscapes and the constructed forms of their temples” (Scully, 1979:4). Rogers observes that in the Archaic and Classical periods, these sites were not overtly contrived on any exacting axial model but, instead, sightlines implied profound relationships between temple and landscape (2002:63). The *logos* of the fourfold is inscribed into the minds of mortals and in the garden of the gods. Never complete at any stage of their Becoming, the elements of the *temenos* can be thought of as

... phrases in a developing language. Each makes a statement that is joined by others as new buildings are added, sometimes over many generations ... what it is attempting to say about the place, the god, and human life will constantly become fuller and more precise as the phrases are made clearer and joined to each other and great sentences take form (Scully, 1979:5).

Scully’s ‘developing language’ can be applied with equal confidence to the evolution of Greek myth and its refinement of forms over the centuries, reflecting the shifts in constructed landscapes and the emergence of new elements in the narrative. While the fundamental premise endures, manifestations of it give way to newer or different ones, and so it is in the *temenos* of Hephaistos. The poet observes that young “vines have been trained up these old trees”, which is itself a trope for the temporal and generational changes. The marble columns and tree trunks of the grove recall primitive woods and mythical events (Stierlin, 2001:46). Bowe argues that sacred groves were important landmarks in both urban and rural landscapes (2009:12). He notes that geographers described them, poets evoked them and philosophers discussed them. The earliest Western references to them are found in Homer and the Homeric Hymns (Bowe, 2009:1). The continued presence of the *theoi* depended on the continued flourishing of the grove

and therefore a source of water was required in the Athenian climate. Water had been drawn from subterranean sources on the Kolonos Agoraios for many hundreds of years prior to the construction of the Classical temple, cisterns later replacing ancient wells (Ida Hill, 1969:88). Hornblower and Spawforth (1998:293) note that the presence of water was highly esteemed, and, therefore, the juxtaposition of the elements of water and fire, the latter through the god Hephaistos, makes the *temenos* all the more sacred.

Euphemios' allusion to the priests of the temple is a reminder that there are intermediaries in the garden of the fourfold. They are, in a sense, the head gardeners who represent the collective body of gardeners and mediate between them and the *theoi*. In his *Republic*, Plato uses the philosopher-rulers as the 'Guardians' of the *polis*. By extension, they are also the high priests of the temple of the architect. Tree, *temenos* and temple; each is an element of a broader landscape of *archai*. The trees and the temple with their interpenetrating pattern of columns in the *temenos*, the buildings in the Agora, the Acropolis complex, are all subservient to a greater unity that embraces them (Martienssen, 1968:155).

Notwithstanding the architectural vocabulary developed by them, the ancient Greeks, "enlarged the sense of urban life as a communal undertaking and created the human potential for self-awareness" (Rogers, 2001:68). From the 8th to the 4th century BC, through myth, poetry and philosophy, the Athenians developed their understanding of the world and their relationship with it. Finley proposes

... [o]f all the forms of knowledge literature most closely transcribes the consciousness because it works in [an] undivided way and does not, like mathematics or science, buy its gains by isolating that part of the consciousness that deals with recurrences and logical sequences. It approaches things as the eyes and ears – even to some degree, the other

senses – together with mind, emotion, and memory approach them, all functioning together (1966:32).

Whether philosopher or poet, this consciousness also constructs or cultivates an *ethos* through *archai*. Whether through the architect or the fourfold, the architectural is revealed through *archai*. In his *Republic*, Plato rejects the emotive in favour of the rational and in doing so rejects the ‘historical’ past of the traditionalists and begins anew with an ideal *polis*, and, more importantly, the philosopher-rulers. He does not however reject traditionally accepted *archai*, merely their origins. Euphemios, instead, is firmly rooted in the historical perceptions of his ancient forebears and their poet descendants, and their interpretation of the origins of *archai*. The role of the poets and the philosophers, as well as the poet-philosophers in-between, has been one of educator and facilitator. The transition of these roles from poet to philosopher also precipitated a transition in form. The distinctions between scope and style, between verse and prose, between narrative and scientific form have parallels in the developments from the earliest natural thinkers to the last of the Presocratics.

Similarly, the changes in art and architecture parallel the shifts in the landscape of Greek thought (Finley, 1966:81). Of the latter, Scully suggests, “a language is being created, speaking through visual form as specifically as does [the] Greek [language] itself” (1979:5). The Greeks’ appreciation of the artisan, that is, the sculptor, and the architect, is grounded in a long history of producing beautiful works that exemplify the *archai* that are the foundation upon which all else is constructed or cultivated. This could lead to two ideas, argues Glacken: the divine creator as artisan or architect; and Man who, through natural intelligence and skill, can regulate his own environment (1967:46). The constructed landscapes of the Dialogues present both ideas through the philosopher and the poet.

Pan is not forgotten here. As an interloper between the realm of the *theoi* and the realm of Man, he, like the carved temple frieze in which he hides, represents the enduring

relationship between the garden, the fourfold and Man. Ironically, but deliberately, in the Dialogues Pan has also allowed into the garden the voices of those who will challenge this very relationship.

9.7 The Plane Tree Dialogue Analysis

The junction where the Panathenaic Way enters the Agora in the northwest corner is an important node. Here, other intra-*polis* roads converge from the outlying northern *demes*. The nearby Altar of the Twelve Gods has a twofold function; that of religious shrine and of civic datum and, in this Dialogue, the altar is used as a trope for a third function, the measure of Man. The Agora is formally delimited by *horoi*, thereby creating a semi-sacred space within a public arena. Temples and altars sit between administrative buildings and people practise their forms of worship to various gods at these sites. The Agora is not perceived as enclosed or self-contained but rather as the central district in the larger landscape of the Athenian *asty* and *chora* (Rogers, 2001:71). After the Persians had sacked and burned Athens to the ground in 478 BC the *archon*, Cimon, planted plane trees (*Platanus orientalis*) in the Agora and the Academy to beautify the sites and to provide shade in public areas (Rogers, 2001:73). Hornblower and Spawforth suggest that certain species of trees were also planted in the Agora's various sanctuaries for their "cultic significance" (1998:293) so one can surmise that the oak, the laurel, the myrtle and the olive would also have been planted in or around the Agora district due to the number of temples, shrines and altars located in the vicinity.

The philosopher and the poet stand under the canopy of a mature plane tree between two significant buildings in the Agora, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the Stoa Basileios. As tropes, these *stoas* respectively represent the highest authority of all the Gods, and the annual *archon*, highest public office of the Athenian citizen. Thus the juxtaposition of

religious, or sacred order, and civic order is made manifest in relation to the Athenian *polis*. Locating Plato, together with the voice of Socrates predecessor, Archelaus, and Euphemia between the two *stoas* and the altar is a trope for the differing outlooks in this constructed landscape. As tropes, each building and each person are landmarks in their own right. Moreover, together they form a node as well an edge. Their views in this Dialogue represent the beginning of rational Socratic thought, the end of Presocratic theoretical thought, and the enduring, though now less influential, Heroic and Visionary thought systems of the geographically diverse Archaic Greeks thinkers. As Tarnas notes, the

[e]arlier philosophers had been relatively isolated in their speculations, with one or perhaps a few disciples to carry on their work. Now in Athens such speculation became more representative of the city's intellectual life as a whole, which continued to move toward conceptual thought, critical analysis, reflection, and dialectic (1020:25).

Though not a disciple of Plato, the poet is engaged in a critical form of enquiry with him, pursuing *archai*, as Plato says (in The Pompeion Dialogue), “with the intellectual integrity it deserves”. From their position under the plane tree Euphemios and the philosopher can see the Panathenaic Way as it sweeps around the eastern edge of the public space following the gentle contours of the Agora, passes the Eleusinion in the City and begins its ascent up the northern slope of the Acropolis (Hill, 1969:94). This public roadway was often used for cavalry training (Camp, 2003:8) and is being used for this purpose on the day that Euphemios and Plato are in the Agora. (This is a deliberate conceit of my doing, forcing the interlocutors to the western side of the Agora and thus enabling the essential detour to the Theatre of Dionysos without doubling back and forth on The Way). Notwithstanding the Theatre of Dionysos, the Agora is the pre-eminent district of the collective self-image of the Athenians (Rogers: 2001:71). As a public domain, the Agora is an outward manifestation of *polis ethos*. For example, the documents of the Laws of Solon, and an even earlier ruler, Draco, were originally housed on the Acropolis but were

relocated in the Agora below (Hurwitt, 1999:56), thereby situating the Laws of the *archons* in the landscape not of the *theoi* but of the *demos*. Be it on the Acropolis summit, in the natural bowl of the Theatre of Dionysos, or in the open Agora, through mythology and poetry, and, subsequently, philosophy, *archai* were intricately carved into the *logos* of the ancient Athenians for hundreds of years.

To understand this *logos* in Archaic or Classical Athens a visitor had only to view the constructed landscape to see in it the *archai* and *ethos* of the *polis* (Dowden, 1992:53). However, mythological reinforcement of the old traditions was figuratively and, in the true sense of the word, literally, everywhere to be found in the constructed landscapes of the Agora. For example, Socrates, who spent most days in the Agora observing his fellow Athenians *ethos*, is exploited in Aristophanes' comedy *Clouds* which satirises the debate between Old and New education. (It was first produced for the Great Dionysia in 423 BC, and awarded 3rd place in the annual competition). In the play, Socrates, though not in reality a Sophist, is caricatured as a Sophist whose 'New' system of education is critically compared with the 'Old' system and who teaches his philosophy in his aptly named hypothetical school, the Thinkery. The 'Old' education comprised two disciplines Music (which included emotive poetry) and Gymnastics (athletic pursuits such as running and wrestling); the 'New' focused on "intellectual training" through a higher rational plane (Arrowsmith, Lattimore & Parker, 1994: 161).

In 399 BC, Socrates was tried and executed in the Agora for corrupting the Athenian youth through his philosophy wherein he "substituted new gods" for the traditionally accepted Olympic pantheon and, by extension, questioning the veracity of the origins of the *theoi* (Finley, 1966:92). Deeply affected by the execution of his friend and teacher, Plato regarded as corrupt the *polis* and its collective citizenry, its political and religious

convictions, and, by extension, these corrupted the Self (Lee, 2007:275-334). Plato's *Republic* offers a new model of *ethos* founded on old *archai* in which those men who have been enlightened through philosophy may govern the *polis* according to Platonic precepts. Lee suggests that this section of *Republic* may be compared with a summary in *Timeaus* (2007:275), which is quoted in The Water Clock Dialogue analysis.

In *Timaeus*, by positing the *polis* as a construction of the architect, Plato explored not only a physical form but also an ideal Form. The Forms are made knowable through the architectural, that is, through the concept-constructs of the *polis*, the temple, and the Self, which are determined by the *archai* in relation to a specific *topos* within a broader *chora*, (Rogers, 2001:59). Weiner observes that generally speaking “*chora* and *topos* have approximately the same range of meanings, but *chora* is used more loosely and informally, and it is less specific than *topos*” (1974:11). As tropes for site-specific place and regional space respectively, ideal *topos* and *chora* can be found in Plato's *Republic*, that is, his ideal *polis* (as *topos*) is an element of a broader landscape (*chora*) of ideas that Plato seeks to impart to Euphemios in the Dialogues. It matters not where this ideal *polis* is located; it lies within the geography of Plato's mind. Yet it provides a foundation upon which Plato can construct his topographical landscape of the Forms. It provides “a philosophical substructure for the shaping of landscape space and the siting of architectural monuments within it” (Rogers, 2001:59). Architecture and landscape, monument and setting, the language of form is the same, and, according to Scully, in the form one finds the meaning (1979:6). Embodied in both the higher Forms and their lower forms are values of humanism, and this is characteristic of both the philosopher and the poet in the Dialogues. Although they approach the aspect of the greater humanist landscape differently, they share common ground; that of an unwavering acceptance of

archai and *ethos* as core values in the Archaic mind and now in the Classical Athenian mind.

In this Dialogue, Socrates' own teacher and last of the natural philosophers, Archelaus, speaks of the *archē* of motion in relation to the origins of the cosmos and the world. Though no fragment of his work survives, his ideas are important as they involve the concept of Becoming through motion, or mixing, as an inherent transforming process in relation to *archai*. For him, Mind is the *archē* of all things. It draws together and mixes opposites, such as earth and water, and through hotness (motion) and coldness (rest) new forms evolve, in this instance, warm mud from which the first creatures of the earth were born, eventually becoming Man who created constructed landscapes (Barnes, 2001:200). By suggesting that Man created the concept-construct of the *polis* and its associated laws, and not the *theoi*, he is closing the garden gate on the older traditional landscapes of Greek thought.

In this Dialogue Euphemios asks Plato to explain Archelaus' theory whereupon Plato argues that it is the architect whose Being created the Forms by drawing together "the disparate elements of fire, water, earth and air until they formed a sphere that was to move in a uniform circular motion in perpetuity. This was a perfect Form". Motion, as a faculty of Mind, is therefore as much an agency of the architect's process of Becoming as it is the act of Being. By analogy, the perfect Form of the *polis* was similarly constructed by the architect when employing the six *archai* in relation to the four elements. The temple is thus expressed in the *polis* through the temple of the Self. As Martienssen observes, "[a]rchitecture in the Greek scheme of life is symbolic of the wider framework about which a manifold code of perception was constructed" (1968:156) and in this Dialogue the role of the architect is most clearly articulated, and, by extension, so too is the concept-construct

of 'the architectural'. By articulating this construction in the terms of *eidos* the philosopher renders clearly the division between his view and that of his philosopher predecessors. The world of the Classical Athenian was no longer being primarily comprehended through an inherited mythology but through rational thought which saw beyond visible appearances to the intangible Form of the Idea (Finley, 1966:59). Yet the role of the fourfold still continued.

In 355 BC the genealogy of Hesiod's *theoi* and the Heroic Epics of Homer are distant echoes; however, the pantheon of the Olympic *theoi* continues to inform the collective Greek "cultural vision" (Tarnas, 2010:17) and the Altar of the Twelve Gods represents this continuity through the poet, who insists on observing the customary practice of making an offering as thanks for the protection of travellers by the *theoi*. Set up in 522 BC by the grandson of Peisistratos as a datum, it serves to orientate citizen and traveller alike in the greater Athenian landscape (Camp, 2003:9). Plato, however, uses the datum to demonstrate a point regarding the measure of Man, that is, his *ethos*. Such measurements have been made throughout the preceding Dialogues. Plato is preoccupied with the objectivity of his *ethos*, but more importantly with how *ethos* is employed. Rogers encapsulates the views of both Plato and Euphemios when she observes

inherent in the mentality of classicism is the ideal of the city as the locus for the good life, its citizens' beneficent mother, a landscape where the human and the natural are united in a bond sealed by divine visitation, bounty, and protection, a place from which exile was an extreme punishment (2001:58).

Plato wrote of 'ideals of the city', and how they might be employed, for example, in Book One of his *Laws*. Set on the island of Crete, in a dialogue between three interlocutors the Cretan says to the (Platonic) Athenian

O Athenian Stranger – inhabitant of Attica I will not call you, for you seem to deserve rather to be named after the goddess herself, because you go back to first principles [*archai*] you have thrown a light upon the argument,

and will now be better able to understand what I was just saying – that all men are publicly one another's enemies, and each man privately his own
(trans. Benjamin Jowett, 2009: n.p.)

He is speaking of a morality, a public and personal *ethos*, founded on *archai*. The basis of the moral life is, according to the Platonic code, the “unified grasp of principles, which enables the virtuous to act rightly in a variety of situations and to explain and justify their decisions and actions” (Hornblower and Spawforth, 1998:540). These principles are what Vitruvius refers as the first principles of architecture. They are what Plato attributes to the architect's temple and what Euphemios subscribes to in regard to the garden of the fourfold. In short, they are *archai*.

While the seeds of thought, as *archai*, were sown in the Kolonos Agorias Dialogue, the supplanting of rational philosophy over natural philosophy takes root in this one, and yet the *theoi* and myth still play a vital role in Greek thought as is evident in Aristophanes' work. The fourfold is inextricably linked to the concept of *archai* in the cosmos, the world, the *polis*, and in the garden. Scully, writing of architects and temples, could easily have been writing of the poet and the fourfold when he argues that a

profound repetition, at once the echo of ancient traditions and the syntax of a new art, informs the whole and sets off the specific statements which irradiate it and which, by the Classic period, produce an unmatched dialogue between oneness and separateness, men and nature, men and the facts of life, men and the gods (1979:4).

This statement can also be applied to the voices that have been heard in the Dialogues. This synthesis of mind and vision as tropes of the Greek narrative of cosmos and Man, the *polis* and the Self have revealed the Platonic relationship between the constructed landscape and the architectural; however, the structural shift between myth and philosophy is not yet embraced by the poet. His *ethos* is rooted not in the foundations of the architect's construction, but in the dwelling and cultivation of the *theoi*. As Pan reminds the reader, in the discourse there are myriad ideas, each of which are, to varying degrees,

refuted in the ideas of others, and though each is formed in the darkness, they thrust toward, and find, the light.

9.8 The Pompeion Dialogue Analysis

Between the Sacred Gate and the Thriasian Gate, in the Kerameikos district, is the building complex known as the Pompeion. As a topographical trope, the Pompeion represents the junction inside the urban *polis* where ancient theology meets new philosophy. That the philosopher Socrates is immortalised in bronze in the forecourt (Elsie Spathari, 2009:23) further tropes this topographical reference.

In The Pompeion Dialogue Plato first alludes to the *ethos* he learned from his friend and mentor, Socrates. Although he was younger, Socrates was contemporaneous and familiar with, the ideas of the 5th century statesman and *archon* Pericles, the playwright Euripides, the historiographer Herodotus and the philosopher Protagoras. He was exposed to the different views of each, and later entered the Athenian philosophical sphere, having developed his own *ethos* at a critical moment at the “height of tension between the ancient Olympian tradition and the vigorous new intellectualism” (Tarnas, 2010:31). In this sphere he was succeeded by his pupil Plato, the greatest philosopher of his day and, arguably, in the history of Western philosophy (Philip Stokes, 2004:23). Socrates and, later, Plato realised that the rebuilding programs of Athens, including Themistocles’ fortified *polis* walls (478 BC) and Cimon’s ‘greening’ of the Agora (begun 475 BC) but, especially, the Acropolis program (begun 447BC) after the Persian sacking, was the beginning of a new phase in the development of the collective Greek mind that reflected not only a new view of themselves in relation to the fourfold but also “embodied a new philosophical understanding of the world” (Rogers, 2001:67). Rogers further writes of this realisation

[c]onfidence in human reason was superseding blind oracular wisdom.
Further, the manipulation of human affairs by the Homeric pantheon

according to the particular dispositions of the various gods was now considered by many Greeks to be naïve. The rule of Necessity (*ananke*) alone did not provide an adequate philosophical or spiritual foundation for those who believed that intelligence - reason itself - was a godlike human gift. (Rogers, 2001:67)

Thus the Pompeion is not only literally but also figuratively a composite form of Lynch's elements: a landmark, a node in a district, an edge and also a threshold. It is the beginning of the path of the discourse.

From the beginning of the Panatheneic Way to the Acropolis the Dialogues of the philosopher and the poet trace the trajectory *archai* in the Greek mind back to Homer. The review and analysis has followed the trajectory in reverse. This first and, in turn, last Dialogue to be 'heard' constitutes the essence of the constructed landscapes of my thesis. It is here that the reader learns of the ideas that are explored in the discourse between the poet and the philosopher. It is here that the reader pauses and reflects upon the views of Euphemios and Plato. It is the beginning and the end: The Way.

The two aforementioned gateways are thresholds: the Sacred Gate is the threshold of belief, and the Thriasian Gate the threshold of reason. The poet has entered the *polis* through the former, and the philosopher through the latter. Between them, in the Pompeion forecourt, stands the figure of Socrates and, in the shade of a *stoa*, reclining on a couch and listening, is Pan. The opening conundrum of the Dialogues by Pan is, in essence, the seed from which the thesis grows. It precedes the first exchange between Plato and Euphemios; however, in this section, I will explore Pan's words last.

When the philosopher asks the poet about what he cultivates in his garden, he is asking a philosophical question. In response to part of the poet's reply that it is "beginning to flourish", Plato refers to his own garden where the "trees are old" and "their yield is

decreasing". He speaks of the older generation of students at his Academy. Similarly, when he says the "younger ones are yet to bear fruit but they grow well and promise much", Plato implies that there is a successive generation being nurtured within the walls of the Academy. But what is this philosophical question really? The answer was, even by 355 BC, age-old; namely, to understand the relationships between Man and the world, the *polis* and the Self, the cosmic landscape of the *theoi* and the constructed landscapes of mortals. Tarnas encapsulates this complex and profound enquiry in succinct terms when he writes

the thought of the great Greek philosophers was an intellectual consummation of all the major cultural expressions of the Hellenic era. It was a global metaphysical perspective, intent on encompassing both the whole of reality and the multiple sides of human sensibility. Above all it was an attempt to know (2010:69).

In The Pompeion Dialogue Plato muses this is "a most interesting, if not new, concept-construct of Greek thought" and goes further, suggesting to Euphemios that they explore the idea of 'knowing' through the concept-construct of *archai*. Establishing what *archai* is contextualises the discourse between the philosopher and the poet. As previously noted, the Greek word *arkhi*, (singular) means 'first or principle' thing (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2008:67), although the discipline of architecture, in particular, employs it as a design convention, the earliest extant Western example being Vitruvius' *The Ten Books On Architecture* (Rowland 1999:24).

At this juncture I reintroduce the respective positions of the philosopher and the poet to highlight the six *archai* as they were posited in The Pompeion Dialogue. This is important for two reasons. First, it contextualises the primary interlocutors' interpretations and second, it draws together the discourse to this point in the analysis. Plato begins by positing his theory in this Dialogue that there is a "single godhead [that] has created archetypal Forms as models for all other things. ...[and he will] refer to the godhead as the

architect". He then describes the six *archai*: "*Taxis* is the constitution of an ideal Form constructed by the architect and *diathesis* is the clear articulation of all elements within a Form. *Eurhthymia* is the congruent aspect of Form when constructed according to all the *archai* of the architect and *oikonomia* is the deliberate management by the architect of all the elements that constitute a Form. *Themastismos* is the propriety of the architect and, finally, *symmetria* signifies the commensurate relationships between all elements within a Form."

Weiner (1974:15) claims that these terms were not accidental, that is, they were each indicative of the true essence of a concept-construct that existed in the Greek mind. Tarnas however, claims that for Plato, "the Forms are not conceptual abstractions that the human mind creates... [instead] they form the world and, yet, at the same time, they lie beyond it" (2010:7). Interestingly, Plato's own pupil, Aristotle, rejected the basis for the Platonic Forms and instead sought idealised abstractions in nature (Rogers, 2001:59). Plato and Euphemios agree on the definition of *archai* but employ differing imagery to explain their understanding of them. Knowing what they are and where their Western origins lie is of interest, but understanding the role they play in the Athenian, and, more broadly, in the collective Greek psyche, is far more profound.

In this Dialogue the poet frames his response as an *ethos* rather than a theory. According to Euphemios "first there is *taxis* which is the disposition of the elements of the fourfold: of gods and mortals, dwelling and cultivation". Dowden suggests that the concept of order is inextricably linked to the constructs of the cosmos, the world, the *polis* and the household and is the manifestation of a collective Greek *taxis* (1992:8). This is the nature of the fourfold. The poet continues with "*diathesis*, which is the *logos* expressed within the fourfold". For example, when Rogers writes that the relationship between the urban centre of Athens and its surrounding landscape was "palpable and continuously expressed" and

that “*polis* and *chora* were an expression of both Mind (*Nous*) and Nature” she is expressing an arrangement that was exemplified by the fourfold (2001:74). “Next there is *eurhthymia*, the concordant composition of the fourfold, and then *oikonomia*, and that is the practice of the gardener”. The poet, here, reflects on the harmony within the fourfold when all elements in the landscape are balanced and insists that it is incumbent on the gardener’s continuing stewardship of the garden. Euphemios says that “*thematismos* is the bond of the fourfold... [and that] *symmetria* is the measure of accord between fourfold and landscape”. Divine authority is absolute and Man defers to it. He cultivates the garden not only for himself but also for the *theoi* whose continued dwelling is dependent on the maintenance of it. Of course, through this, Man also reaps the fruit of the garden.

The “complex set of interrelationships” between the “fourfold, landscape and *ethos*” that Plato speaks of in this Dialogue is essential to the discourse on *archai*, Forms, the architectural and the Self and, given that the term ‘the architectural’ is most often associated with that of ‘form’, it is not surprising that Plato extrapolates further on Euphemios’ trope of the temple and employs it in his own argument. For the poet the trope of the temple reflects the significance of the dwelling of the *theoi* in the constructed landscapes of the 4th century BC. That the philosopher has adopted the same concept-construct demonstrates the power of its imagery in the Athenian landscape that has continued, in one form or another, from the Archaic period through to the Classical period when he is speaking. It would continue long after.

Euphemios includes the earliest Greek poets among the sources of thought on *archai*, but Plato insists that one must be able to substantiate others’ claims. Although little has been written about *archai* in relation to the architectural other than by the ancient Greeks themselves, it has been possible to glean insights from these sources, and, through

extrapolation, demonstrate that the cosmos, the world, the *polis* and the Self were thought to be ordered through “certain primordial essences or transcendent first principles, variously conceived as Forms, Ideas, universals, changeless absolutes, immortal deities, divine *archai*, and archetypes” (Tarnas, 2010:3) In this discourse, beginning with The Pompeion Dialogue, this idea is further explored as the origins of the poet’s and the philosopher’s respective *ethos*.

From Homer and Hesiod, to the Presocratics and Socrates himself, and then to Plato, myth and its thrall had, over time, weakened. Although the emergence of theoretical and then rational thought superseded traditional belief systems based on the natural world and the gods and goddesses, the fourfold was never fully subsumed by the new way of thinking. Euphemios’ stance is indicative of this. Political and socio-cultural events in the Athenian landscape of the Archaic and Classical period still observed the customary laws of the *theoi*. Euphemios’ beliefs exemplify this. Through their myths, and later through their philosophies, the Greeks demonstrated a continued desire to understand the laws that were, according to each thinker, the cause of shifts in form and content in the life of Man and in Nature (Martienssen (1968:156). Euphemios’ *ethos* parallels this.

If one is to understand the constructed landscapes of the Greek mind then one should observe them through the eyes of the ancient Greeks. For example, Alcock argues that “the contingency, temporality and fluidity of ancient landscapes” and ways in which they were perceived and understood by scholars is now being reconsidered by archaeologists, landscape historians, and scholars in several other disciplines (2002:31). Although she does not specify architects and landscape architects among the ‘other disciplines’, I suggest that scholars in these disciplines should include research on not only ‘the built form’ of temples and gardens but also on Presocratic philosophy together with Greek

poetic works, as these fields allow one to 'see' in the pre-Hellenistic Greek landscapes what Jaeger asserts as the

theoria of Greek philosophy [which] was deeply and inherently connected with Greek art and poetry; for it embodied not only rational thought, the element we think of first, but also (as the name implies) vision, which apprehends every object as a whole, which sees the *idea* in everything – namely visible pattern (in Martiensen, 1968:156).

This visible pattern of ideas is most clearly expressed in constructed landscapes through the *polis* and its temples, and, by extension, the Self, and their relationship to the landscape. Plato adopts the concept-construct of the *polis* within which he locates the tropes of the temple and the architectural as the microcosmic exemplars that explicate his Forms in relation to *archai*. The constructed landscape of the *polis* is not an isolated entity but rather a central idea around which Plato can rationalise his ideal Form. His *Republic* is, in effect, an example of his *eidos* and, as Tarnas (2010:3) observes (and has been demonstrated in the Dialogues), Plato often employs Greek tropes such as *idea* and *eidos* that is, idea *and* form, interchangeably. Plato's *eidos* in *Timaeus* also has a physical counterpart in the ordering of urban landscape space, evidence of which from the 8th century BC onwards suggests that the urban centre and the outlying regions were conceived as complementary (Rogers, 2001:59); each supported the other.

Similarly, the outward manifestation of *archai* complemented the inward composition of *archai*, and, in the Athenian citizen, this was in the form of *ethos*. For example, when mediating between the Athenian rivalries from the *asty* and the *chora*, that is, urban and rural *demes*, the 6th century *archon*, Solon, had drawn on the themes of the Epic poems to remind these citizens that all men benefit from observing the *archai* of their forebears, and that not only courage but also humility and goodness were the measure of an Athenian citizen (Snell, 1971:40).

This idea was inculcated in Plato's Academy, situated about 1.5km beyond the Thriasian Gate. Here the garden was cultivated as was the mind. Rogers (2001:68) argues that the education of both body and mind was reflected in the development of *paideia* used for gymnastics and that the Academy included one as well as, more interestingly, a garden with an *odeion* built especially for the recitation of poetry. Within and without the walls of the Academy, gardens, sanctuaries and groves with altars and shrines were dedicated to various gods (Hill, 1969:221). Though not speaking directly about the Academy, Bowe (2009:12) describes the typical elements of a sanctuary of the size that has been located outside the entrance to it (Hill, 1969:221). Bowe suggests that in sanctuaries "architectural and sculptural elements were disposed. Prominent natural features were highlighted. Some individual trees, being considered sacred, were also conserved" (2009:9). and "[s]culpture, if there was any ... was representative of socio-religious and mythological narratives" (2009:9). The Academy, site of philosophical instruction from c.385 BC until it was closed in 529 AD by the Roman Emperor Constantine, (Mautner, 2000:3), had ancient, even mythological associations, for example, the planting in the sacred grove of the twelve *moriai*, taken as scions from Athena's tree on the Acropolis (Travlos: 1971:42). The Academy is located near the Colonus Hippias (hill of the horses), where, according to Greek myth, Oedipus now old and blind, had been welcomed to Athens after his long wanderings in exile. The chorus in Sophocles' play *Oedipus at Colonus* describes for Oedipus (and here, for the reader), the landscape he has entered. The following quote from the play offers an insight into the literal and figurative poetic landscapes of Athens' *chora*. Sophocles has the chorus say to the old king

Stranger, you come to white Colonus ... where the clear-singing nightingale warbles her song in the green glens, clinging to the wine-dark ivy, and to the untrodden grove of the god, thick with leaves and berry-clusters ... which Dionysos in ecstasy always haunts with his godlike nurses. Day by day the narcissus blooms in lovely clusters, fed by the dew of the sky, from long ago a crown for the great goddesses [Demeter

and Persephone] and with it the gold-lit crocus ... the river Cephisus moves across the plains giving rapid birth with its pure water to [the plants of] the swelling earth ... And here is found the foliage of the grey olive that feeds children ... which grows in greatest abundance in this land. No young person, nor anyone who dwells with old age, will damage or destroy it with his hand; for the sleepless eye of Morian Zeus watches over it, and grey-eyed Athene ... (trans. Trypanis, 1971:225-6).

For Plato in the Academy and its surrounding area, as for Euphemios in his garden in the *deme* of Melite, myth is everywhere imbued in constructed landscapes. It matters not that Oedipus was blind, or that in the Dialogues Plato employs the trope of *eidos*, or that Euphemia speaks of the vision of the fourfold; from the language of the landscape comes the mental image.

The poet, not yet recognised in the cultural landscape of the poetic arts in Athens, has travelled along the Sacred Way and entered the urban *polis* through a different gate to Plato. His views are of a landscape imbued with the *ethos* of the fourfold, veneration through cultivation and dwelling, *ethos* through deed as well as thought. Cultivation is not simply the act of tilling and improving the quality of a plot of land, but also developing the Self through learning or developing skills (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2008:347). Dwelling is not simply a house, or a place of habitation, but is also thinking deeply and speaking at length about an idea (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2008:447), neither does the architectural simply refer to the built form of a temple. For Euphemios the *logos* of the temple is the concept-construct of the architectural. It is the language of the landscape. As Anne Wishton Spirn so eloquently conveys, “[l]andscapes are the world itself and may also be metaphors of the world. A tree can be both a tree and The Tree, a path both a path and The Path” (1998:20). So it is for Plato too. Finley writes that Plato “could not conceive of life without thought, thought without order, or (since we are in the world, hence help describe it) the world itself without structure and scheme” (1966:97-8). This statement applies equally to those Greeks who preceded him and who thought deeply

about what role *archai* played in sustaining the relationship between Man and his constructed landscapes. But what of Pan's own constructed landscape and its *logos*? To recapitulate, the Dialogues open with a ten-line conundrum spoken by Pan that frames the discourse. Each line is a trope and can be thought of as an aspect of the concept-construct of *archai* in relation to the discourse in the Dialogues. Pan muses that

1. If boundary is the threshold of openness
2. Of what is yet undisclosed and therefore
3. Embraces all things
4. And dwelling and cultivation are
5. The Way
6. Of the architectural
7. And of the Self
8. Does not *logos* reveal
9. Wherein the garden of the temple
10. Are nurtured the seeds of first principles?

The first three lines are the framework for the ensuing Dialogues between the philosopher and the poet. The first line suggests there are gateways into other landscapes. The second line suggests there are things as yet unknown to us that have not been spoken of. The third line unites the ideas of the unknown and these things by inviting us to imagine what they might be. In line four the concepts of dwelling and cultivation are introduced as the tropes through which the architectural and the Self (lines six and seven), are actualised. Line five, however, is the primary trope of the poem. Simply two words, *The Way* has profound connotations for not only the interlocutors in the Dialogues, but also for the entire thesis discourse in its style and approach. The eighth line introduces the Greek term *logos* and the ninth employs the tropes of garden and temple, which are recurring exemplars in the Dialogues. The use of *within* suggests conceptual interiority. Line ten continues the trope. Seeds are ideas, nurturing implies fostering, and from first principles can be inferred an *ethos*.

Pan's conundrum is itself a gateway into the constructed landscape of the poet and philosopher, a landscape that has views "backwards into the past and forward into a possible future" (Marinelli, 1971:37). As a god, Pan is both an interloper between the world of the *theoi* and the world of mortals; as an interlocutor, a guide for the reader of the landscapes in the Dialogues, he is "in the middle country of the imagination" (Marinelli, 1971:37).

9.9 Summary

Beginning with views from the Acropolis, themselves tropes, and finishing at the Pompeion and the statue of Socrates, the poet's and the philosopher's respective propositions have been examined in the light of a poetic continuum, that of *logos* as employed by the ancient Greeks. However, it is Pan's opening conundrum that is the gateway to the constructed landscapes of the Greek minds of antiquity. Revealed through *archai* and expressed through the tropes of the temple and the architect, and the garden and the gardener, is the relationship between 'the architectural' and the Self. Ultimately, this has been the goal of the Dialogues and, subsequently, the analysis of them.

Fundamental to both Euphemios' pantheon of *theoi* and Plato's one godhead are the six *archai*, made manifest through the *ethos* of the ancient Greeks. This *ethos* is revealed in the development of the Self in relation to the temple and its orientation in the garden. How this is realised differs between the poet and the past, and the philosopher and the future, between the Archaic and the Classical mind. The constructed landscapes of Athens, and beyond, have shaped this trajectory over hundreds of years. Presented in the form of poetic verse and, later, poetic prose, Greek poets, philosophers and geographers created a mental image of their environments that the listener could enter and, figuratively speaking, wander through. Like poetry and philosophy, *geographia* was a literary device

and, as such, it transcended the boundaries of prose and poetry, between fact and fiction (Romm, 1992:27). The suffix *gê* speaks figuratively and literally of the Greek's relationship with their landscapes, constructed or otherwise.

The elements and forms that constitute the landscapes exemplify the arguments of all who have a voice in the Dialogues, even Pan's puns. The tropes of the fig, the vine and the olive have self-seeded throughout the course of the Dialogues not only as elements of the physical Athenian landscape but also the Athenian garden of the mind. They are attributes of the *theoi* and characteristics of the interlocutors; they are food for thought. Of these, the olive is most prized, not simply for its oil but for its symbolism. As an attribute of Athena, the olive is, by extension, a symbol of integrity and wisdom. These are the qualities Plato seeks to graft onto his 'young trees' in his own garden at the Academy. The poet informs Plato that his once impoverished garden, now green, is beginning to flourish. The colour green is also a common trope for youth, and although the poet is not yet established in his field, has demonstrated that he is well read and capable of defending his views. Green is also the vision of *Gê*, the original gardener. Euphemios' vision of the garden flourishes because he cultivates it. He is cultivating it on the day he walks with Plato to the Acropolis.

The Acropolis, the end-point of the journey on the Panathenaic Way, looms large from every location in the Dialogues. It serves to orientate the interlocutors and the reader. It has also served me as I have journeyed through the ancient landscapes of Athens, Attica and the greater Greek world. Having climbed the Acropolis in the Spring of April 2011, it is easy to understand why the poet wanted to make the pilgrimage to visit his ancestor's tomb, and to see the venerated olive tree. It is easy to see why Plato might have visited simply for the views but, of course, it was for much more.

10.0 Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The primary aim of my research has been to trace the Western origins of *archai* back to their Greek sources and then to develop a creative narrative model, a constructed landscape of ancient Athens through which *archai*, not as architectural terms but as constructions of the ancient Greek mind, could be explored through myth, poetry and philosophy. Seeking to understand the ‘nature of the idea’ I wished to explore in this thesis prompted a new way of thinking about method and theory. Ultimately, I orientated myself in another direction, toward the ancient Greek constructed landscapes and their mytho-philosophical tropes. In these forms I discovered not only *taxis*, *diathesis*, *thematismos*, but also *oikonomia*, *eurhthymia* and *symmetria*, and an original methodology for exploring the world and the Self in relation to it.

10.2 Reflection on Narratology: an ancient Greek epistemological form

Narratology, in its ancient Greek form, has proved to be a useful and, moreover, an illuminating and poetic means of understanding the ideas spoken of by the philosopher, Plato and the poet, Euphemios in the Dialogues. Through ancient Greek narratology it has been possible to ‘read’ the constructed landscape, not with a modern perspective but with ‘Greek eyes’ as Plato and Euphemios and the Presocratics have. The value of this approach is removing, as much as possible, the secondary and tertiary 20th century incursions onto the landscape of this language typology itself, notwithstanding that I, as author, am also at a remove from the ancient past. The immediacy of the spoken word addresses this by reinforcing the mental image and thus the immersion of the reader in the discourse. The nature of narrative and narratology advances not only the medium of the dialogue or conversation but also its analysis.

Although scholarly in its approach, narratology lends itself to a critical voice that is less empirical and quantitative and more literary and poetic. The tropes of 'temple' and 'garden' are true elements in a narratological landscape analysis as are those of path, edge, district, node and landmark. These five Lynchian elements have 'leapt the garden wall' and sown themselves with ease into the landscapes of the Dialogues. Their form, like the garden of ideas, has shifted with the seasons. Not only devices for way-finding they are also analytical in their application of the ancient Greek form of narratology that I have employed. By following the Greeks and approaching knowledge using the form that I have in this thesis, that of narrative through the spoken and written word, I have created a mental image of the developing critical Self in relation to the architectural and demonstrated this through the mental image of the *polis* and its elements. Narratology, in the sense that it has been invoked, through discourse and analysis, has revealed to the reader the 'true form' of the Greek idea of 'temple' and 'garden'.

10.3 Employing this approach in other research contexts

I write from the perspective of a scholar of the disciplines of architecture and landscape architecture. Given its form, this dialogical approach to exploring an idea or a complex set of interrelated ideas may be useful in fields within such disciplines as the Humanities. However, I believe it has the potential to be used in myriad fields of teaching and learning where the word, either written or spoken - or both - is The Way between 'idea and image'.

Through oral recitation of poetry and plays, written mytho-philosophy and (poetic) proto-scientific prose, the ancient Greeks conveyed their mental images of the world and their place in it. No images accompanied their writings except, on rare occasions, when a 'conceptual world map' was included (the earliest was by Anaximander in the 6th century BC). The deliberate choice of tropes, their judicious placement and their meaningful

associations within the greater constructed landscape revealed to the reader, or listener, the power of the idea.

10.4 Strengths of such an approach

The methodology I have employed has not, to my knowledge, been used before in a thesis on architecture or landscape architecture. The obvious strength of an approach such as has been taken in this thesis is the capacity of the well-chosen trope to convey the central ideas through a poetic landscape of language. Beginning, in this thesis, with reference to Homer's Epic poetry and continuing through successive stages of Greek thought to Plato's own dialogues, the poetic trope develops a type of pattern language, a recurring *leitmotif*, illustrative of the themes and ideas that run through the constructed landscapes of the Greek of antiquity without the need for accompanying images. The scope of the wordplay employed in the Dialogues allows for complex ideas, such as the tree and the temple, to be introduced concisely but with the advantage of suggesting deeper meanings. This, of course, requires the reader to concentrate on the meaning of the language and not on visual clues in the form of a diagram or chart. The Dialogues, although necessarily contrived, bare the device of the spoken word and, therefore, of what is being spoken in this thesis.

10.5 Dwelling: critical reflection on the Constructed Landscape

The discourse has been developed around Lynch's elements and in each Dialogue these have been used to highlight, through a physical element, a mythic or metaphoric trope of an that element or form. This discursive use of Lynch's elements has facilitated drawing together the complex ideas of the interlocutors in the Dialogues. The elements have been employed in much the same way as they are in physical landscapes, that is, they orientate the Self in relation to 'the architectural', although in the landscapes of the Dialogues this

has taken on a different meaning through the use of tropes. Although discrete elements, they form a whole, a 'mental image' of the Self in relation to the architectural and the Athenian *polis* in 355 BC. Through this, the meaning behind Pan's final conundrum in the Acropolis Dialogue and the *logos* of *The Gardener's Poem* is revealed.

The *knowledge* of the six 'first principles' that Vitruvius posits as the basis of the 'education of the architect' has, through revealing their Western origins and applications, been the focus of the discourse in this thesis. Vitruvius does not open the gate into the constructed landscapes of the ancient Greeks and follow a path exploring their earliest meaning. He is simply interested in technological advances, not poetic retreats into distant landscapes. The Greek understanding of the concept-construct they invented, that of *archai*, was apparently unimportant. It is because of Vitruvius' Roman-centric view of constructed landscapes, in the conventional sense of the term that my research into *archai* began and the voices of the ancient Greeks eventually found expression in the Dialogues. Like the Greeks, who were intrigued by the origins of *archai* and who subsequently developed a broad *ethos* based on their meaning, I also needed to *know*.

I began the thesis proper with the mytho-philosophical landscape of *The Gardener's Poem* (see Section 7.3) wherein the reader was introduced to the language style of the seven constructed landscapes that followed; that is, tropes, elements, and form. The Dialogues have followed the trajectory of *archai* in Greek thought in the discourse between a poet, Euphemios, and the philosopher, Plato, and, although their words in the Dialogues are not actually recorded anywhere, the ideas of which they speak are. Much research has gone into the development, form and presentation of the Dialogues. What, then, have the Dialogues revealed? Following is what I have 'unearthed' regarding these six points.

1. The Western origins of Vitruvius' 'first principles', that is, *archai*, have their roots in the constructed landscapes of the ancient Greeks and the first written evidence for this began with the works of Homer and Hesiod in the 8th century BC.

The Lynchian elements of path and edge, and categories of form of time series and motion awareness demonstrate this proposition. The Dialogues have followed The Way along which specific elements of the *polis* are located. I have related these elements of urban form to contextualise the concepts being spoken of by the interlocutors, which, in turn, are based on my research. A temporal trajectory of 400 years spans The Way in the Dialogues and this has been facilitated in the discourse through physical movement as well as shifts in thinking. As Plato and Euphemios have walked through the *polis* over the course of a day, they have come to the known boundaries of Western thought on *archai*, the first written evidence they, and, still today, we, as scholars, have. Pan explains that, although the landscape of Arcady and the garden of Gê are older than the constructed landscapes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and of *Works and Days*, it is from these written sources that we can firmly ground the proposition that *archai* had ancient Greek roots in the landscape. Pan then reminds the reader that even though the philosopher couches these terms in 'the architectural' through the trope of the temple, this, in fact, reinforces the concept-construct of the architectural, too, is grounded in the landscape.

In my research I realised, like Sophocles, through 'Discovery' comes 'Reversal', not as he found with fate, but with direction. The complexity of the ideas that were being explored required broader reading beyond the two disciplines I have previously studied (those of landscape architecture and architecture) and therefore I ventured in a different direction into ancient landscapes unknown. In archaeology and Presocratic philosophy were unearthed new ways to 'see' either what no longer exists in the landscape, or what was

never tangible in the first instance. I discovered the constructed landscapes of the Lyric and Elegiac poets, and the Athenian Tragedies and Comedies. Through judicious selection I grafted these ideas onto the rootstock of my early research and planted them in the Dialogues. This, I believe, demonstrates the depth and breadth of research undertaken to write each of the seven Dialogues in the manner that they are presented.

2. In the Greek mind, *archai* formed the core of their systems of thought and was inherently bound to *ethos*, and was reflected in both the individual and the collective Athenian mind, and this has been revealed through the transition from belief to reason, from myth to metaphor.

Archai and *ethos* are expressions of Greek-ness, first, through the works of the ancient Greek writers, and second, more specifically, through the Athenian writers. These concepts are variously articulated through the Heroic, Visionary, Theoretical and Rational stages of Greek thought in the Dialogues. Beginning in the Archaic period c.750 BC with the Epic poetry of Homer and Hesiod (c.700 BC) in whose works are found the first examples of these concepts, the trajectory continues uninterrupted through to the late Classical period with the philosophy of Plato in 355 BC (the date of the Dialogues). The Elegiac poem of Solon, written in 594 BC, the poetry and prose of the Presocratics and the plays of the Athenians demonstrate that *archai* and *ethos* are inextricably linked. All of these works are literary landmarks in the constructed landscapes of the ancient Greek mind and reflect the shifting views of the Greeks and, after 594 BC, of the Athenians in particular. The collective work of the Presocratics is also an important node in the broader districts of Greek philosophy and is presented in the Dialogues at a junction in the Agora where a number of important inter- and intra- *polis* roads converge.

Pan speaks of Man as '*ethos* in deed', and as '*ethos* in thought' arguing that the former echoes the words of Homer and Hesiod and the latter recalls the actions of the two primary interlocutors of the Dialogues. He points out the irony that these two aspects of *ethos* are transposed to their seemingly opposite counterpoint in the Dialogues, 'deeds' and Homer's thought through his words, and 'thoughts' through the actions of Plato and Euphemios. Like so many other Greek concept-constructs, in Man, *ethos* is manifested as both idea and action, and, in the landscapes of the Dialogues, the six elements are directly related to the six *archai* being discussed by the philosopher and the poet. For example, the path, or The Way, is both a physical path and a path of enlightenment through journeying and way-finding, which, in turn, reveals the *taxis*, *diathesis*, *eurhythymia*, *oikonomia*, *thematismos* and *symmetria* between the world, the polis and the individual. Landmarks such as the Academy from which the philosopher has travelled (and then was joined by the poet at the Pompeion) at the beginning of the Dialogues, and the Acropolis at the end of them, serve to reinforce this trope of The Way and reminds the reader that neither a path alone, nor a landmark has any meaning without a broader context, that of the landscape in which it is located. Similarly, an ancient Greek's *ethos* is meaningless without a cultural reference, and this is often associated with his *polis* and its forms such as temples, gardens and gods.

3. The role and presence of the Greek *theoi* in the constructed landscape, though diminished by the advent of the natural philosophers, continued to endure in the collective mind of the *polis* and, moreover, divine law always subjugated mortal law.

Lynch's categories of form - continuity and dominance - and the element, landmarks, together with the four stages of Greek thought, were employed in the Dialogues and this is shown in the cultivation of the recurring themes of temple and garden wherein the *theoi*

dwell. My research revealed that there was, between the 6th and 4th centuries BC, a proto-scientific shift away from thinking of, and describing, the *theoi*, the elements and forms of the world and cosmos in anthropomorphological terms, yet the gods and goddesses continued to dwell in the temples of the collective Athenian mind. Euphemios is representative of this 'collective mind' and in the Dialogues this is revealed in his observance of divine law in his every action. In short, he epitomises mortal deference to a higher, divine order.

Pan reminds the reader that he is very much a part of the landscapes of the ancient Greeks, constructed or otherwise, although his presence in Athens is relatively recent compared to Gê and her own divine son, Zeus, and his daughter, Athena. He speaks also of Demeter, associated with the greening of the landscape, reinforcing her role as 'giver of grain to Man'. The elements of the landscape - paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks - are evidence of the continued presence in the landscapes of the Greeks. As specific markers in the landscape revealing divine presence, for them to go into decline or, even worse, disappear, is a portent of great consequence for the *polis* and its citizens. The advent of the natural philosophies, says Pan, compete with, but do not eradicate the ancient belief systems. Instead, new ideas are transplanted into the seedbed of myth and a hybrid form of mytho-philosophy grows from this. Following the path of reason, argues Pan, the Presocratics have found themselves at a crossroads of sorts; they are neither purely believers of myth nor rational empiricists. Pan reminds the reader that the laws proposed by the Presocratics regarding the *archai* that governs the world, the *polis* and the Self are, by their own admission, subject to divine law. Pan also describes the Presocratic thinkers as landmarks in an intellectual landscape, their ideas as the edge of thought itself, and their collective voice at the Water Clock in the Agora as a proto-scientific node within the greater district of world knowledge to reinforce the troping of Lynch's elements and

their capacity to develop a mental image of the constructed landscapes created by the Greeks and by me.

Dominating the themes of the constructed landscapes of the ancient Greeks more broadly, and the Athenian ones more specifically, is the interplay between mortals and the *theoi* in *polis* affairs, be they affairs of state, of war, or of love. Often depicting the begetting of children through the union of divinities and mortals, in the myths of Archaic and Classical poetry, the presence of the *theoi* is ever felt. At the centre of all the action, or behind the scenes, as it were, the research material spanning Homer and Plato that demonstrates this is encapsulated in the Dialogues through Euphemios' fourfold and Plato's godhead, the architect.

4. Successive forms of Greek myth, poetry and philosophy demonstrate that sustaining *archai* was fundamental to the bond between the Self and the architectural.

The concept-construct of the Self as an entity that exists individually and also as an element of a collective identity is a dominant aspect of the Dialogues. Euphemios' and Plato's respective positions on this are linked to their ideas about *ethos* and how it is developed and, more importantly, how it is practised. Euphemios' view represents the older traditional approach that envisages the Self as an aspect of the fourfold; through his dwelling and cultivation the *theoi* and *archai* remain within the garden. Plato places the Self in relation to the Forms, and by extension the single godhead. This singularity of form, a Lynchian category, is Plato's counterpoint to all the theories posited in the Dialogues by the Presocratics and is the antithesis of Hesiod's genealogy of the *theoi*. It is a significant landmark on the trajectory of Greek thought and highlights the emergence, after Socrates, of a fully rationalised doctrine of the Self and 'the architectural' in the sense that I have

employed this latter term, and, similarly, that of the temple and the garden – as tropes. The use of tropes has enabled what is essentially a complex set of ideas to be more fully explored. Their visual scope, another Lynchian category of form, in creating a mental image has been enhanced through the poetic articulation of elements and forms, the visual language of the landscape, and, at times, the shared perspective of the interlocutors in the Dialogues. As noted, the scope of the four stages of thought are employed to increase the depth of perception, offering clues that make see-able the invisible, for example in the Mind's eye of the Platonic architect. In the Dialogues Plato speaks of the Self and 'the architectural' in relation to the architect, the three representing aspects of The One singular entity, the original, perfect Form in which, and through which, *archai* are revealed. My research and interpretation of Plato's ideas, particularly those in his *Timeaus* and his *Republic* as they pertain to the *archai* and, by extension, to the *ethos* of the Self and the *polis*, is reflected in the way Plato draws upon elements of urban form to explicate his point in the Dialogues. Equally, my research into *archai* described by the Greek poets and Athenian playwrights also reveals that the relationship between the Self and the architectural extends beyond the literal architecture of the *polis* to the conceptual architecture of the Greek and, specifically in the Dialogues, the Athenian mind. This is shown in the exchanges between the interlocutors and through Pan's asides to the reader.

Pan muses about *archai* as the grounding of the Self and 'the architectural', and reminds the reader of its role in the earliest Greek texts. As with later philosophical treatises, these early poems were didactic insofar as they recalled a Golden Age in which *ethos* was revealed through deeds that maintained the *archai* that had been present in the world since its becoming. The concepts of dwelling and cultivation were fundamental to the architectural, even in Homer's character Achilles' lifetime, though they did not have the

Platonic associations attributed to them by the philosopher. 'The architectural' was indeed the temple, but it was the physical dwelling of the gods and not the abstract temple of Man.

5. The concept of the architectural is related to that of *archai* in their Greek original usage.

The Vitruvian ‘first principles’ of architecture notwithstanding, the concept of ‘the architectural’ has been shown etymologically to have not only Greek origins, which Vitruvius acknowledges, but also earlier, more profound connotations that he does not acknowledge. The etymology, as noted in the analysis, has shown that the root word *arkhi* means first, chief, principle and *tekton* means builder. From *arkhi* comes *archon*, the chief or principle ruler of the *polis*. By reading the Greek constructed landscapes with ‘Greek eyes’ it is possible to read the architectural as pertaining to the principle or chief maker of the universe, the world and all elements in it. The form of the principle or chief maker, whatever the ‘appearance’, has been that of an entity of the highest order, initially the fourfold of Euphemios, the collective *theoi*, and then, ultimately, the single godhead of Plato. The word *archai* is closely associated through its etymology and its application to *archon* (ruler). If one thinks of the *polis* as a microcosm of the cosmos as Plato has done, (he posits this in the Dialogues), then the *archon* or ruler can, with seamless ease, be extrapolated as Plato’s architect (builder, maker), his godhead. One of Lynch’s categories of form, this is a clarity of joint, that is, it has a clear relationship with, and connection to, the rational system of thought that dominates Plato’s argument in this discourse.

According to Pan’s opening conundrum, through the construction of the temple and the cultivation of the garden, the *ethos* of the Self in relation to the architectural is realised. The trope of the architectural is, then, revealed by The Way. When Pan speaks of ‘the architectural’ to the reader he is introducing the device of the trope into the discourse thereby establishing the landscape of language that will be employed in the thesis. The Way is the path between *archai* and ‘the architectural’ and, ultimately, the Self. This

transcends the Vitruvian association of 'first principles' and the education of the architect. For Vitruvius, the Self as the embodiment of *archai* is not realised anywhere in his *Ten Books on Architecture*.

6. The importance of the natural landscape in ancient Greek religion and philosophy is evidenced in the Dialogues through the writings of the Greeks between the 8th and 4th centuries BC.

I have used comparatively few examples of the vast anthology of Archaic and Classical Greek mythic poems and philosophical prose in the discourse, yet each has been selected to highlight the *phuta* of the natural landscape in relation to religious and philosophic representations of the Greek and, moreover, the Athenian world. Through these writings, the importance of engaging with the natural world, for example, through veneration of *phuta*, through observation of material elements and forms, through the themes of the Seasons, is made absolutely clear. The Athenians and the Arcadians in particular were intimately bound to the earth, its goddess, and her laws. As an interloper between the world of the constructed landscape and the world of academic discourse, Pan is the personification of Arcady, the original garden of Gê. He is simultaneously wild and cultivated, he is the 'green' of youthfulness but is as ancient as the land itself; Pan is the law and the subject of it. He is a trope.

Pan tells of how the natural landscape and its elements and forms are references that orientate the discourse as well as the interlocutors. He comments that the respective mental images of the world are, for both the philosopher and the poet, informed by the landscape itself, the mountains, the rivers, the plains and the sea. The trees, the shrubs and the flowers are imbued with religious significance and have mythic associations. The

advent of philosophy did not negate the importance of the natural world and its landscapes. Rather, it reinforced the 'nature' of it and Man's relationship to its elements through its forms, that is, the Self is always orientated in a specific location from which knowledge can be attained. Pan reminds the reader that this knowledge takes many forms: knowledge of the dwelling places of the gods such as on the Acropolis and on the Kolonos Agoraios, knowledge of the cultivated political and cultural landscapes such as the *polis* Agora and the Theatre of Dionysos, and knowledge of *ethos* and *eudaimonia* in such places as the Academy of Plato and in the garden of Euphemios. He also speaks of the Epic poems of Homer that locate the protagonists in a landscape peopled with not only mortals but also divine beings, revealing the shared nature of the landscape. Hesiod warns against complacency on the part of Man when tending the garden of the gods and Pindar writes of the physical landscape of Athens, praising her as the home of both gods and men. A clear mental image of the ancient Greek world, and especially Archaic and Classical Athens, is created through these writings. Pan points out that the Presocratics observed their world, which included Gê, Oceanus and Ouranos (the personification of see-able, physical aspects of the greater landscape) with less poetic eyes but were nonetheless in its thrall.

In the Dialogues, much of the Archaic and Classical poetry quoted explores the profound relationship between Man and Nature. Through the tropes of the elements and forms of the landscape, the first natural philosophers sought to go beyond the poetic 'horizon' to discover the 'truths' of the natural world. This, too, is an example of an element and several of Lynch's categories of form in action, that of path, time series and continuity between the Heroic and Rational mind. Yet the *theoi* still had a place in the greater landscape of Greek religious practices; the diversity of the natural world 'housed' the gods and goddesses in constructed landscapes, whether above the ground or below it. These

places of dwelling are reflected in the poems and myths of the seasons. The season of Spring is used extensively in the works of the ancient Greeks. It symbolises life, death and renewal, as for example in the myth of Demeter and Persephone, wherein every Spring the 'young flower', Persephone, emerges from the darkness of a corporeal earth into the lightness. This symbolism is demonstrated throughout the seven constructed landscapes that are set in Athens in Spring, 355 BC. Emerging from the Archaic darkness comes new life, seeking lightness; green thoughts nurtured in a green shade, to paraphrase a line from Andrew Marvell's poem *The Garden* (1681) , could have truly been Euphemios' own.

What forms the Athenian *polis* in 355 BC, the Self and 'the architectural' also forms the thesis, and is expressed through the landscape of language: *taxis*, *diathesis*, *oikonomia*, *eurhythmia*, *thematismos*, and *symmetria*. Words, not images, fill these pages, and through them are the created 'mental images' of the *polis* and its geographical and topographical context. As Euphemios says in the walled sanctuary of the Eleusinion in the City, each constructed 'landscape has its own elements and form, its own rhythm, its pattern language', but together the Dialogues and the analysis form a unified whole.

Like the Athenian *archon*, Solon, in his *Elegy*, I have completed what I set out to accomplish, and, although we speak to different audiences, what we speak of is fundamentally the same; that knowing and enacting *archai* are not merely the foundation of an architect's education, but are, in reality, the foundation of the education for all. Like Homer, 'father of Greek education', I have sought enlightenment through learning and learning through enlightenment. Like Socrates, Plato's teacher, whose voice is not heard in the Dialogues (an irony not overlooked given that he was famously fond of verbal discourse), I sought to better understand that I might better know. As dwelling is to temple,

idea is to form, as cultivation is to landscape, the Self is to the world. In the ancient Greek mind these were one and the same.

10.6 Cultivation: leaving the gate open

The view of the garden-as-poem wherein one can cultivate (and be cultivated) and dwell poetically has become clearer in the lightness of becoming. Walking through the Agora in the Spring of 2011 I marvelled at the presence of an older, greater order. As with Píkonios sixty years earlier when landscaping the Acropolis precinct I, too, 'stooped to pick up a stone' and felt the great age of this garden of Gê. Standing in the shade on the Kolonos Agoraios, I looked across to the great temple on the Acropolis and could 'see' too that it was 'an explanation of the way in which the entirety of things is arranged'. Below in the Agora I walked along the Panathenaic Way, following in the route up the north slope of the ancient procession that took the *peplos* to Athena on the summit, whereupon I entered the precinct of the Sacred Rock. Athena's tree is no longer there but the location where it grew is still venerated.

As I retrace my steps down the slope and through the Agora toward the gateway at Adrianou Street I can 'hear' Pan's voice from the Acropolis Summit Dialogue: the tree and the temple are one: the beginning and the end of The Way. I smile knowingly and as I pass through the gateway, I leave the gates open for those travellers who might chance upon The Way.

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Appendix A: Keywords of Lynch and Vitruvius

Although first published in 1959, reprinted in 1961, and now over fifty years old, *The Image Of The City*, written by urban theorist Lynch, remains a seminal text for analysing urban form and creating a 'mental image' of the city. The text outlines five major elements (1961:46-48) for reading the city, or, in the case of my thesis, the constructed landscape. The elements are separate, identifiable elements within the (urban) form, each of which relates in some way to the other, either physically or conceptually; together they present an 'image' of the form as a whole, that is, a legible mental map for the user or for reader. They are

Paths: the route one potentially follows, which may or may not be linear.

Edges: the boundaries or limits of an element, form, or area. They may or may not be penetrable and important in organising features of a broader area.

Districts: the larger scale zones within a broader area. They are easily recognised through some feature or characteristic and may be 'entered conceptually' as well as physically.

Nodes: these may be junctions of paths or the concentration of elements that give rise to the immediate area having a symbolic reference. They are formal and informal convergences of paths in a district.

Landmarks: these can be seen from near or distant locations and from many angles but unlike districts the user does not conceptually enter them; instead they act as markers in the landscape, as points of reference and orientation.

He further developed ten categories of form (1961:105-108) aspects of which I employ as they relate to my research

Singularity: qualities that identify an element

Form Simplicity: clarity and simplicity of visible form

Continuity: similarity, analogy

Dominance: one part over others by means of size, intensity, or interest, resulting in the reading of the whole as a cluster

Clarity of Joint: clear relation and interconnection

Directional Differentiation: asymmetries, gradients, as well as radial references that differentiate one end from another

Visual Scope: qualities that increase the range and penetration of vision, either actually or symbolically that facilitate the grasping of a vast and complex whole by increasing, as it were, the efficiency of vision: its range, penetration, and resolving power

Motion Awareness: maintain the consistency of direction or direction change; or make visible the distance interval

Time Series: where one element is simply knitted to the two elements before and behind it (as in a casual sequence of detailed landmarks), and also series that are truly structured in time and thus melodic in nature (as if the landmarks would increase in intensity and form until a climax point were reached)

Names and meanings: enhance the imageability of an element and strongly reinforce such suggestions toward identity or structure as may be latent in the physical form itself

It was not until the end of the 1st century BC that the first extant Western architectural treatise was written. *De architectura*, known as *The Ten Books On Architecture*, was compiled by Roman architect and engineer Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (active between 47-30 BC) and dedicated to the Emperor Augustus. According to Vitruvius, the education of an architect begins with the understanding of the First Principles [Gk: *archai*] of architecture. The following excerpt comes from Rowland as she provides, in succinct form, the essence of the Vitruvian model. The numbers in square parentheses, define Vitruvius' six 'first principles' that are troped in the Dialogues and are my own inclusion. Vitruvius argues

architecture consists of **ordering**, which is called *taxis* in Greek, and of **design** – the Greeks call this *diathesis* – and **shapeliness** and **symmetry** and **correctness** and **allocation**, which is called *oikonomia* in Greek.

[1] **Ordering** is the proportion to scale of the work's individual components taken separately... and is achieved through **quantity**, which in Greek is called *posates*. **Quantity**, in turn, is the establishment of

modules taken from the elements of the work itself and the agreeable execution of the work as a whole on the basis of the elements' individual parts.

[2] Next, **design**, is the apt placement of things, and the elegant effect obtained by their arrangement according to the nature of the work. The species of design, which are called *ideai* in Greek... are produced by **analysis** and **invention**. **Analysis** is devoted concern and vigilant attention to the pleasing execution of a design. Next, **invention** is the unravelling of obscure problems, arriving through energetic flexibility, at a new set of principles.

[3] **Shapeliness (eurhythmia)** is an attractive appearance and a cohesive aspect in the composition of the elements. It is achieved when the elements of the project are proportionate in height to width, length to breadth, and every element corresponds to its dimensions to the total measure of the whole.

[4] **Symmetry** is the proportioned correspondence of the elements of the work itself... of the separate parts to the appearance of the entire figure as a whole.

[5] Next, **correctness (decor)** is the refined appearance of a project that has been composed of proven elements and with authority. It is achieved with respect to **function**, which is called *thematismos* in Greek, or **tradition**, or **nature**.

[6] **Allocation** is the efficient management of resources and site and the frugal, principled supervision of working expenses (1999:24-6).

Appendix B: Geology, Geography and Topography

The descriptions that follow are intended as points of reference; as adjuncts to the thesis proper which deals not with the physical landscape as such but with the mytho-philosophy that developed because of it. Each of the authors cited here includes in their respective texts, comprehensive references for further reading that is beyond the scope of this thesis, but is clearly related to its content.

Geology, Geography and Topography: definitions

Geology is the scientific study of the origin of the earth and its structure. Geology examines the changes that have occurred and are occurring over time (Woodcock, 1989:94). From the Greek terms *ge* meaning 'earth', and *graphia* meaning 'description of' (James, 1972:4) the term *geographia* was first introduced in the 3rd century BC, by the Greek scholar Eratosthenes (James, 1972:4), however, it was never considered a scientific term. Only after four centuries, when in the 2nd century AD, when Ptolemy wrote his *Geography*, did objective detachment from the subject begin (Romm, 1992:5). The field of geography, of which today there are two empirical branches (physical geography and human geography), describes the Earth's surface and the location of natural features and settlements (Woodcock, 1989:93). Topography, from the Greek terms *topos* meaning 'place' and *graphia*, describes the relief and configuration of a landscape; its natural and man-made features of which hills, valleys, forests, fields, roads and settlements are included (Woodcock, 1989:260).

Geology of Greece and Athens – an overview

Hurwitt (1999:3-4) provides a brief overview of the geology of Greece, Athens and its Acropolis. 300 million years ago, during the Palaeozoic era, the great primal sea of Tethys

separated Africa and Eurasia. During the Cretaceous period (145 - 65 million years ago) in the subsequent Mesozoic era, continental drift between the two associated tectonic plates resulted in the sealing of the western Tethys. This area is now known as the Mediterranean Sea. The tectonic collision lifted part of the Eurasian plate and eventually, twenty million years ago in the Miocene period, the vast mountain Alpine range of Eurasia (extending from the Middle East to Gibraltar) came into being.

Several minor tectonic plates were folded during this latter period resulting in the mountain ranges of Greece that run northwest to southwest across the lower part of the European continent and appear as the Cycladic archipelago in the Aegean Sea. The continued pressure on these plates means that Greece, which comprises about a dozen geo-tectonic zones, is earthquake-prone.

Located within the relatively stable region of Attica is the Attic plain, the Athenian basin, and the city of Athens. The triangular Athenian basin itself comprises schist, marl, and alluvium and is circumscribed by three mountains: to the north, Parnes (1413m), on the east, Pentelikon (1106m), and Hymettos (1037m) in the southeast. Each differs geologically: Parnes is limestone, Pentelikon is white marble, and Hymettos is grey and white marble. A fourth, smaller, limestone mountain, Aigaleos, lies to the west. Beyond lies the Attic Plain, 22km long and 12km wide.

The hills of Athens are of sandstone and limestone, and include the Areopagus, Pnyx, Lykabettos, and the most significant, the Athenian Acropolis. Approximately 277m at its longest and 156m at its widest, the Acropolis rises 70m above its immediate urban surrounds. Seen from all parts of the city, the irregularly, freestanding rock is made up of sandstone, marl, and schist, with a fissured limestone outer layer. Once part of a

continuous physical feature surrounding the plain of Athens (upon which the *polis* developed), tectonic shifts in the Miocene period and eons of erosion have separated the Acropolis from the ancient range.

Geography of Attica – an overview

Smith (2006:255-257, Vol. 1) and Camp (2006:Ch. 1) offer a geographical overview of the region of Attica that circumscribes Athens. Surrounded by an arc of mountains on three sides, Mount Aigalos in the west, Mount Parnes in the northeast Mount Pentelicus, and to the southeast, Mount Hymettos, the undulating plain of northwest Attica stretches outwards on its fourth side to the Saronic Gulf. Seasonal breezes from the sea temper the heat generated by the plain while snow covers the mountains in the colder months. Three rivers meandered across the Attic plain: the Kephissos, which flows south from the foothills of Mount Parnes to the coast at Phaleron, the Ilissos wound southeast around the base of Mount Hymettos, and the Eridanos, which issued from the south slopes of Mount Lycabettos and flowed northwest and thence to the Gulf. On a low rocky peninsular, on the west coast of the Attic plain, is the Athenian port of Piraeus. It consists of three natural deep harbours where the Athenian fleet was moored - Mounychia, Kantharos and Zea, separating the island of Salamis and the coast of the Peloponnese to the west.

Topography of Athens – an overview

Continuing the descriptions from Smith (2006:225-227, Vol 1) and Camp (2006:Ch.1), the *polis* of Athens is oriented along the plain on a northeast-southwest axis. A ridge rises forming a series of hills, the Mousseion (today known as Philopappas Hill), the Hill of the Nymphs, and The Pnyx. Slightly north of the Pnyx is a hill known as the Areopagus. The ridge reaches its highest point in the northeast, a conical peak, known as Lycabettos, and then continues northeast. The ancient Greeks called this rise Brilessos or Anchesmos but

today it is called Tourkovouni. Near its southwest end, the ridge becomes a freestanding, steep-sided crag, the Acropolis. Also known as the Sacred Rock, it was the first citadel of the plain of Attica before the development of the *polis* proper, and thereafter became the principle sanctuary of the goddess Athena. Beneath the Acropolis, to the northwest, the plain slopes away to the open ground of the Agora, the civic and commercial centre of the *polis*.

Topography of landscape around *polis* walls – an overview

Travlos (1971:158-9) describes the regions that lay immediately within and without the *polis* walls. Erected as a consequence of population expansion, or war, and constructed over a period of time, fortified walls enclosed the Athenian *polis* whilst the Long Walls protected the passage of goods from the harbour at Piraeus to the Agora. Through a series of gateways placed at irregular distances in the stone walls, a great network of thoroughfares radiated from the centre of the *polis* out to the *demes* of Attica, there connecting with the roads begun by the earliest settlers of regional Attica. From prehistory, and continuing today, these roads have followed the same routes, determined by the contours in the natural topography of the Attic plain, and pass through the surrounding ranges. Of the points of egress and ingress, the most used were the Sacred Gate and the Thriasian Gate (later known as the Dipylon). Here three major regional roads intersect - one from the harbour, one from the Peloponnesian region via Eleusis, an important site of the cult of the Mysteries and dedicated to the goddesses Demeter and her daughter Persephone, and one from the Academy, the site of worship of the ancient Athenian hero Hekademos, and also the philosophical Academy founded by Plato. It is located near both the Kolonos Hippias and the Kephissos River. The district in which these three important roads converge is known as the Kerameikos. Divided by the *polis* walls it is known respectively as the Inner, and Outer, Kerameikos.

Geography of the Mediterranean – an overview

Smith (2006:760-761, Vol. 1) gives an overview of the wider landscape beyond Athens. Approximately 180km northwest of Athens, in the region of Phokis, Mount Parnassus and Mount Kirphos enclose the narrow vale of Pleistos. Facing south, a towering ridge of rocks known in antiquity as Phaedriades rises above the sea, and from its extremity, two lesser ridges slope down the vale to a river that emerges from the cleft of the Phaedriades as the Kastilian Stream. The mountainous ridges and rocky outcrops surround a natural semi-circular recess that is exposed on the south to the Gulf of Corinth. Herein lies Delphi. Easily accessible by sea, Delphi is more difficult to reach by land. Two roads from the west pass through the only two openings in the western ridge, and a third, from the east, coming from Athens, Boeotia, Chalkis, and Eretria, enters through the eastern ridge of the Phaedriades. This road is known as the Schiste and is the same road Oedipus took after consulting the Delphic oracle.

Overland, via Megara on the Isthmus of Corinth, about 150km to the west of Athens, is Arcadia, pastoral home of the Greek gods Pan and Hermes, and reckoned by the ancient Greeks to be peopled by a race so ancient they were older than the moon. Located in the central Peloponnese and bounded by Argolis on the east, by Elis on the west, on the north by Achaia, and on the south by Messenia and Laconia, Arcadia is encircled by high, mountainous, limestone ranges. Below, fertile plains are watered by the tributaries of the rivers of Arcadia, the Alpheios, the Eurotas, Erasinus and the river Styx.

Seventy kilometres south of Athens, the winds from the Myrtoan Sea blow hard against the perpendicular cliffs of Cape Sunion on the south-eastern peninsular of Attica. Also sacred to Athena, the cape was a place of worship to the god of the sea, Poseidon, whom Athena had defeated in a contest to become patron deity of the Athenians. In the distance lies the

west coast of the Peloponnese, and between the cape and the Greek mainland lie the islands known as the Cyclades. Further south, approximately 290km from Athens is the island of Crete. Beyond, and separated by the Mediterranean Sea to the south, is the once important Greek colony of Cyrene on the Lybian coast of Africa. Approximately 1000km southeast of Athens is the city of Alexandria in Egypt, named in honour of the Greek general who founded it in 331 BC.

Westwards of Athens, beyond the Peloponnese, the Ionian Sea separated mainland Greece from Etruria (modern-day Tuscany) and the Etruscan territories. However, from at least the 6th century BC, Greeks had settled in the north of the mainland at Elea and Paestum, and also on the island of Sicily at Acragas.

To the east of Athens, roughly 300km across the Aegean Sea is the west coast of Turkey, once called Asia Minor by the ancient Greeks. The Greeks colonised existing mainland settlements including Miletus, Halicarnassus, Prienne, Kolophon, and Ephesos, and flourishing island settlements such as Samos, Chios, Lesbos and Rhodes. Northwest of Miletus, on the Anatolian coast of Turkey lies the legendary city of Troy, (modern-day Hisarlik). East of the Turkish border is modern-day Iran, and Persepolis, once the royal seat of the Persians but destroyed by Alexander in 330 BC.

Appendix C: Major districts in ancient urban Athens

The short descriptive passages that follow are intended as a guide only and are by no means a definitive outline of the precincts that constitute such a complex *polis* as ancient Athens. Although many of the smaller precincts have not been included here this appendix offers an overview of the major districts that are integral to the urban *polis*. The information has been limited to the end of the period of my research, however Travlos (1971) continues his descriptions of findings, and interpretations beyond this point. As a point of reference only, I have chosen to use Travlos (1971) over other scholars, as he is a highly regarded archaeologist and recognised academic, and his text has numerous references for the interested reader to follow up.

The Academy

The following is a brief overview of the Academy site and is from Travlos, (1971:42-3). The Athenian district known as the Academy lay to the west of the *polis* in the Outer Kerameikos near the Colonus Hippias and occupied an area 300m x 450m. Remains of the eastern and southern walls, and a section of the western wall are known but no part of the northern wall has been found. A boundary stone found *in situ* in the southeast corner during archeological excavations in 1966 established the existence of the site to at least 500 BC and confirms its ancient name Hekademeia, in honour of the Athenian hero Hekadamos who was worshipped at this site. (Other excavations, however, show that the site of the Academy was occupied from the Neolithic period, as was the Athenian *polis* proper). An ancient road, the Dromos, leads from the *polis* and to the Academy (a section of which is has been excavated in the Kerameikos precinct near the Thriasian Gate, known after 278 BC as the Dipylon gate) and connected the two.

At the entrance of the Academy is a sanctuary that is the possible site of a shrine to Hekademos. As well there are as statues and altars of Eros, Prometheus and Hephaistos. It was the starting point for the torch races of the funeral games, in which young men bearing lit torches ran along the Dromos and finished in the Outer Kerameikos district. Other shrines and altars may have been located here, including the Altar of the Muses, and the shrine and altar of Athena, who was venerated as the patron goddess of the Academy. Possible other altars include those of Zeus Morios or Kataibates, Herakles and Hermes. Ancient writers mention the twelve *moriai* or sacred olive trees as being in this area of the Academy.

Within the precinct walls of the Academy, excavations have revealed a large gymnasium complex, and remains of a square *peristyle* to the north. The *peristyle* dates to second half of the 4th century BC. The gymnasium itself comprised a rectangular court with a section in the middle for a *palaestra*. Baths for athletes have been located north of this area and the foundation of closed halls have also been excavated on the east, south and west sides of the court. The Academy locale was not, however, delimited by these precinct walls. West of the site, near the Kephissos River, various structures, including graves and grave goods, wells, terracotta sherds, and sculpture has been found. Beyond the precinct walls of the Academy were gardens, groves, and sanctuaries.

The Kerameikos

This summarised description of the archaeology of the Kerameikos has been taken from Travlos (1971:299-319). The district of the Kerameikos lies northwest of the Agora and the *polis* proper at the lowest point, 44m above sea level, in the ancient city of Athens. Few remains have been excavated that date earlier than the 12th century BC, after which the

inhabitants of the nearby settlements began to use the site to bury their dead on the banks of the Eridanos river which runs through the precinct on its way to the sea. On the south bank an early Archaic necropolis from the 7th or early 6th century BC has been located near the Shrine of the Tripartres. Much decoration in stone and marble reliefs and statuary adorned the graves. During the 6th century BC, after the building of the first city wall, the dead were buried outside the city limits. For a period in the 5th century grave monuments were simple austere *stele*. The only preserved monument of this period is the *stele* of Pythagoras from Selymbria. The following century grave monuments again became highly decorative. Many are preserved *in situ* as are the extant family grave lots that line the Sacred Way and the Street of the Tombs, the latter leading to the Piraeus.

In 478 BC (after the 2nd Persian War), the precinct was divided in two: the Inner and Outer Kerameikos as a result of the building of the circuit wall by Themistocles to protect the *polis*. Much of the stone and marble from earlier monuments was used when the second city wall was being constructed after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC and during the rule of Demetrios of Phaleron (317-307 BC) expensive grave monuments were forbidden and instead short columns, simply inscribed, replaced them as grave markers.

From the Kerameikos three important roads leave the *polis* through three of the city's gates: the westernmost road to Eleusis via the Sacred Gate; the middle road to the Academy, known as the Dromos, through the Thriasian Gate; and the easternmost road through the Eriai Gate, which lead to the Hippios Colonus and the Phyle. Either side of the Dromos, in an area known as the Demosian Sema, Athenian statesmen and other Athenians together with wartime allies were accorded state burial. Here, athletic contests were held along this section of road in honour of the dead, although the torch race that finished at this point began at the entrance of the Academy.

The Panathenaic Way

A short introduction to the Panathenaic Way is provided by Travlos (1971:422). This ancient processional route extends from the Kerameikos to the Acropolis and covers a distance of about 1km. The gradient is not the same throughout; it rises some 94m from start to finish, the steepest part being the last 240m up the west slope of the Acropolis. The most important buildings of the Old Agora and the New Agora (instituted by Solon) line the route.

The Athenian Agora

The following is a brief overview of the Agora from its earliest inception until the end of the Classical period after Travlos (1971:1-8). The original, or Old, Agora founded by Theseus, was located at the foot of the Acropolis on the northwest side of the hill, and was in continuous use until the end of the 7th century BC after which Solon chose a new site, a level area east of the Kolonos Agoraios, between the Eridanos River and the Areopagus where the oldest (Mycenaean, Submycenaean and Geometric period) cemeteries of the city were located. Athenians had gathered here for festivals and contests since prehistoric times. The erection of shrines and civic buildings that had begun under Theseus' rule continued until the end of the 7th century and included, on the north side of the Acropolis, ancient shrines of Apollo, Zeus and Aglauros, as well as the Prytaneion which housed the perpetual flame of the *polis*. West of the Acropolis the Old Agora contained the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos and its public precinct, the court of the Areopagus, shrines to Demeter Chloe, Gê Kourotrophos amongst others according to ancient sources. Extending as far as the Eleusinion in the City, on the north slope of the Acropolis, the Old Agora was bisected by the Panathenaic Way at this point. In effect, the New Agora was an extension of the Old Agora.

Under Solon the Agora expanded to the north. As Athens' power and influence increased in the Greek world, civic building programs commemorating heroes, athletes, patriarchs, gods and goddesses were initiated under successive rulers in the new Agora. Just north of the centre of the Agora, a stone monument was erected c. 522/1 B.C. as a datum point for measuring distances to other towns. Public games and festivals continued to be held in the New Agora including equestrian and athletic events. Of the temples, monuments and civic buildings the Hephaisteion, the Eponymous Heroes, the South Stoa, The Fountain Houses, and the Mint, area indicative of the main activities and functions of the New Agora. The sites and foundations of law courts, a prison, the council chambers, and the Orchestra (an outdoor performance space), have been identified through excavations, as has the site of a shoemaker and a moneylender. Many altars and shrines, and temples have been located which reveal the diversity of worship and religious practice amongst the Athenians. Under Cimon, a planned program of civic buildings was enacted. He also ordered the planting of shade trees in the Agora to shelter the citizens and beautify the public area. Evidence suggests that other planting programs were implemented (see Thompson, 1963). Around the Hephaisteion planting pits have been discovered during excavations and ancient literary sources refer to gardens around shrines and altars. Constraints of the site and the needs of the growing *polis* meant that new building programs were overlaid directly on older ones and the materials often recycled. Eventually some of the activities and their associated buildings were relocated beyond the Agora precinct.

The Pnyx

Travlos (1971:466-75) describes the area of the Pnyx in detail. This is a summary. The Pnyx, west of the Acropolis, has been positively identified as the place where, in ancient

Athens, the Assembly of the Athenian People met to debate matters of governance and law. The Pnyx had three main building phases: during the 6th century BC, the surface of the natural limestone *theatre cavea* was quarried and a wall constructed to retain the earth-fill needed for the *bema* (the speaker's platform). The citizens sat facing the *polis* and the Sacred Rock. During the second period (404/403 BC) the *bema* was relocated and a high semi-circular retaining wall being erected with steps on either side which lead from the Agora below. The citizens now sat with their backs against this new wall with no view of the Agora or the *polis* proper. The third period of construction, dated to 330-326 BC enlarged the footprint of the site but the plan remained largely unchanged. One of the stairways was demolished and the remaining north stair was widened from about 4m to 12m. At this time the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos was destroyed through the quarrying process. Bordering the now levelled terrace on the south side of the *bema*, two *stoas* were intended but never finished; their siting is significant as this is where the foundations of many of monuments from the Classical period have been located. A large rectangular cutting into the hillside (made during this third period) between the site of the two *stoas* has been speculated to be the foundations for a *propylaia* for the whole architectural complex; however, the need to fortify the *polis* meant that the building program for this area of the Pnyx had to be abandoned.

The Ilissos Area

A summary based on Travlos (1971:289-71) describes this district. Throughout the Ilissos area the terrain consists of ancient strata of sand and gravel that shows the river of the same name followed this course from at least the Mycenaean age. (The ancient riverbed is now under landfill and the new arterial road, the Ardetos highway). Until the late 20th century, scholars believed that the earliest settled part of Athens was confined to the

Acropolis itself and its immediate surrounds on the south. Recent excavations have shown that the area of settlement stretched away to the east as far as the Ilissos River.

The river flows from the northeast to the southwest close to the site of the great Olympeion. South of the Olympeion, the foundations of buildings of considerable importance have been discovered (though it is evident that they were demolished and removed to rebuild and construct new sections of the city wall in the 3rd century AD). Also discovered through excavation were wells, and the foundations of houses, from the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Excavations on the southwest corner of the Olympeion revealed ruins of an Archaic building and quantities of pottery. In an area to the north of the Olympeion, excavations have yielded prehistoric sherds. Possible sites for very ancient shrines including one to Olympian Ge have been speculated as being in the southwest corner of the precinct.

The Acropolis

The following is a very brief overview after Travlos (1971:52-9) of the occupation of the Acropolis from 5000 BC to 600 BC. It is intended to give a brief account of continuous human settlement as evidenced by building during the period in question. It is not an exhaustive account of every building program and their dimensions but rather an outline of a shift in landscape and dwelling. The sacred rock of Athens, the Acropolis, has been occupied since the Neolithic period, c. 5000 BC. Evidence, in the form of pottery sherds, demonstrates that from the Early, Middle, and Late Helladic periods there was continuous human occupation of the slopes and summit. Ancient Athens reached its (first) apogee during this epoch, in the late 15th and early 14th centuries BC, during which the earliest building program, a Mycenaean palace complex, was begun on the summit, on the site of the much later Parthenon and Erechtheion. The complex consisted of the king's personal

quarters, administrative buildings and the first shrines. Unfortified at this time but surrounded by a retaining wall and terraces, the complex was most likely approached and entered from the western slope whose gradient was more amenable to processions.

Later, in the 13th century BC, the Athenians, threatened by a Dorian invasion, constructed what is known as the Pelargikon or Pelaskigon wall some 5m thick at certain points, and the western entrance of the citadel was fortified. A second wall, also known by these names, was erected at the foot of the Acropolis on the west side to protect the water sources of the Asklepieion spring and the Klepsydra. Another spring was located within a cave on the north slope during construction of this later wall and the Athenians built an internal stairway to gain access to it from the summit of the Acropolis. Although there is scant evidence of building in the Geometric period, many graves and much pottery has been found to further indicate continued occupation.

The earliest temple to Athena was sited on the remains of the earlier palace complex. This became known as the Old Temple of Athena after it was replaced in the 6th century BC, when the Hekatompedon (570-566 BC) and the *peripteral* temple of Athena (529-520 BC) were erected, the former probably on the site of what is now the Parthenon, and the latter (of which the foundations are preserved) south of the Erectheion.
